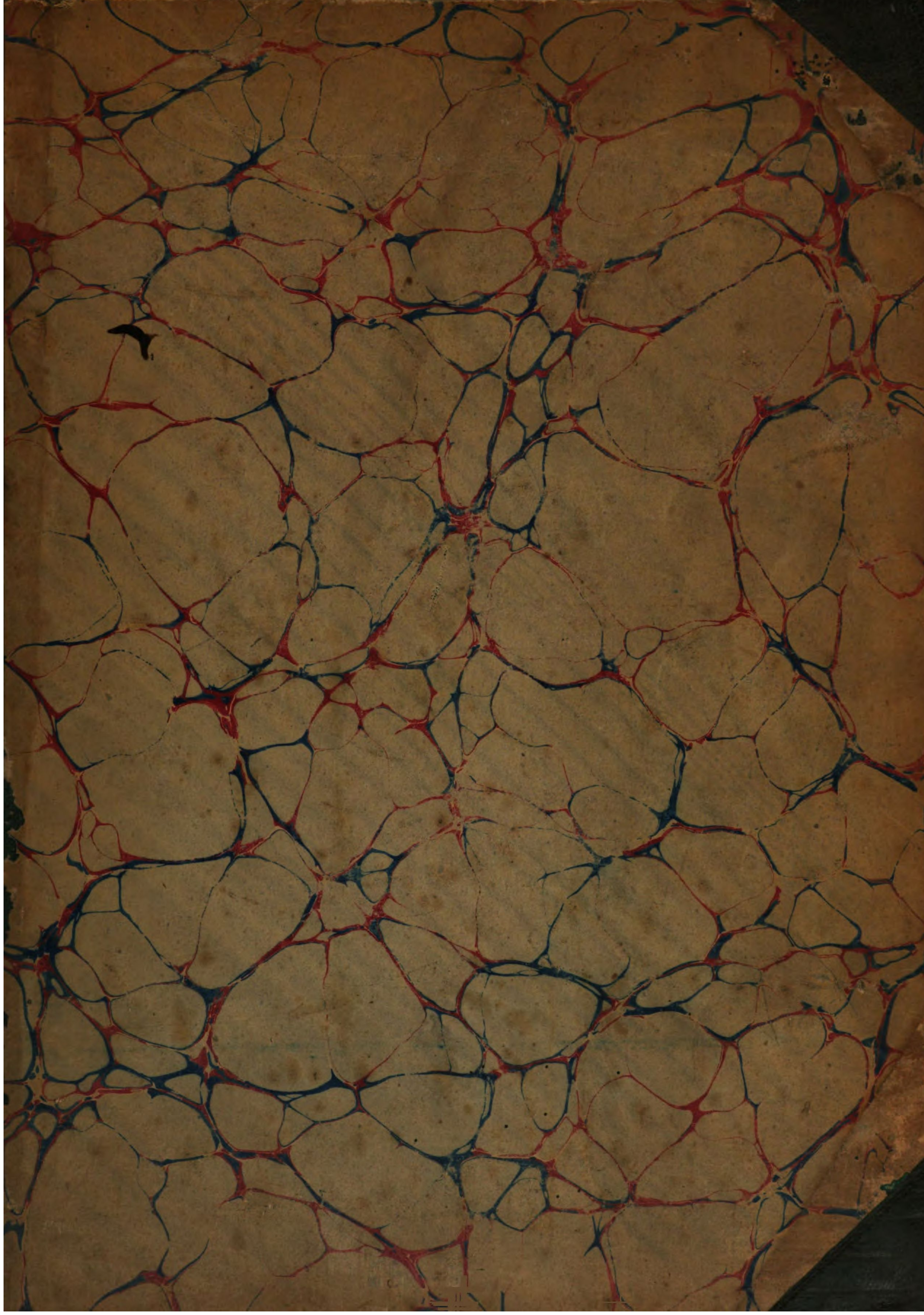
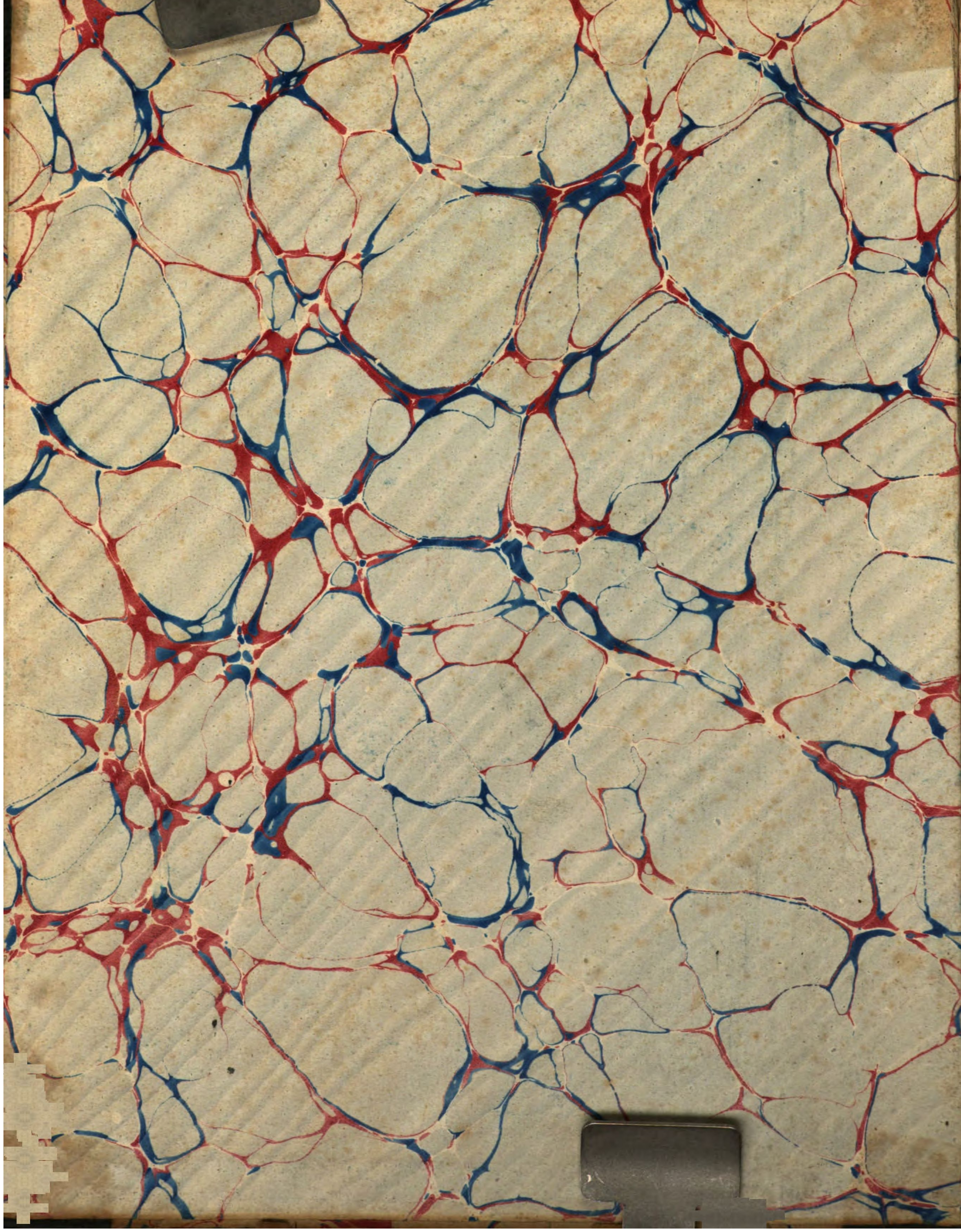
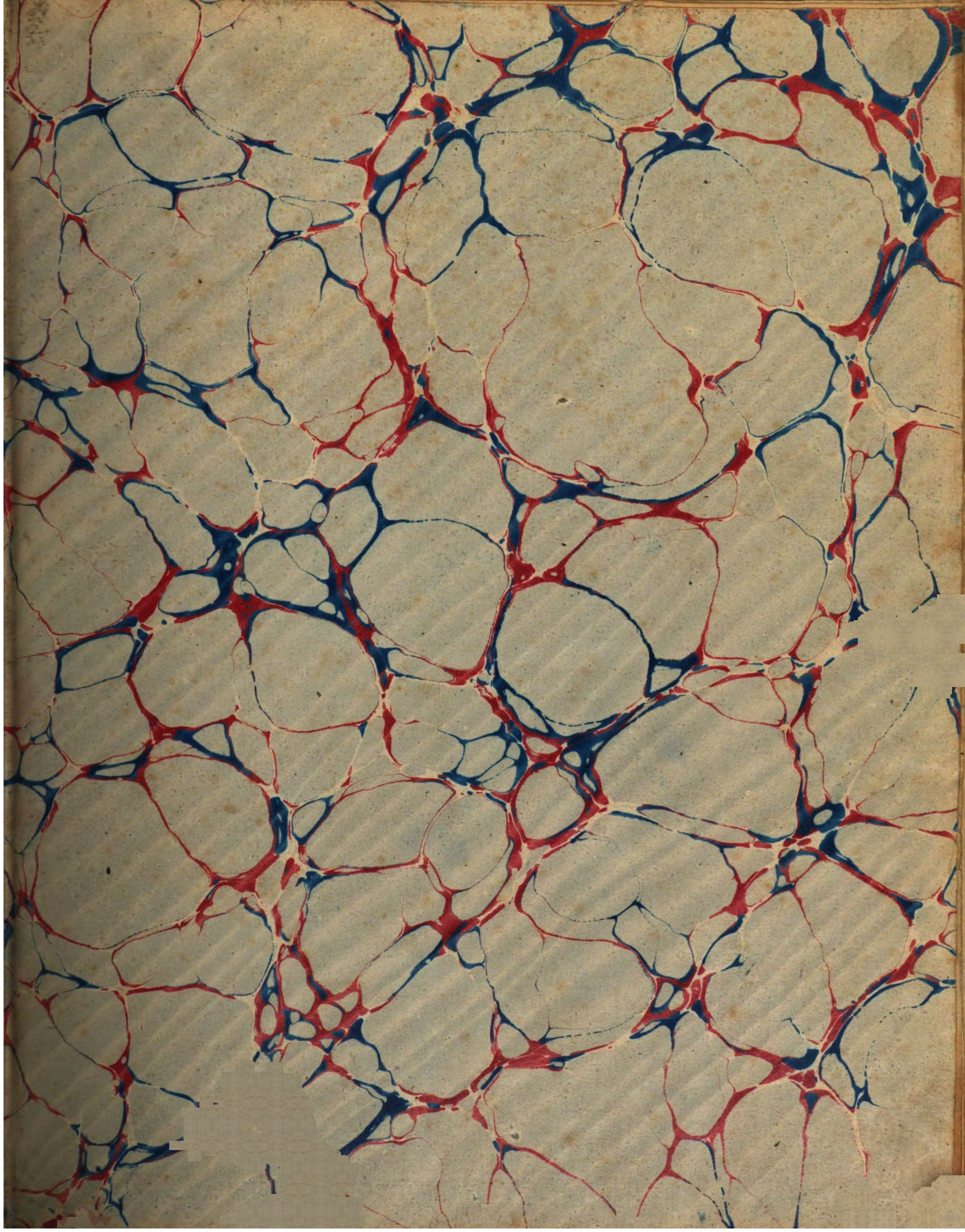








J. H. Jamieson
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SELECTED PAPERS

OF

ROYAL PATAGON

OF THE

OF THE

WILLIAM HENRY HENRY

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OF THE

SELECT VIEWS

ROYAL PALACES

OF

WILLIAM III. & MARY II.

BY

JOHN H. COLEMAN

OF

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OF

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OF

SELECT VIEWS
OF THE
ROYAL PALACES

OF
Scotland,

FROM DRAWINGS BY
WILLIAM BROWN, GLASGOW ;

WITH
ILLUSTRATIVE DESCRIPTIONS
OF
**THEIR LOCAL SITUATION, PRESENT APPEARANCE, AND
ANTIQUITIES.**

By JOHN JAMIESON, D.D. F.R.S.E. &c.

AUTHOR OF THE DICTIONARY OF THE SCOTTISH LANGUAGE, &c.

EDINBURGH:
CADELL & CO.; SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, LONDON;
ROBERTSON & ATKINSON, GLASGOW;
AND W. BROWN, DRAWING ACADEMY, VIRGINIA STREET,
GLASGOW.

MDCCCXXX.

SELECT VIEWS

ROYAL PALACES



WILLIAM BROWN, GLASGOW

ILLUSTRATIVE DESCRIPTIONS

THEIR LOCAL SITUATION, PRESENT APPEARANCE AND
ANTIQUITIES

BY JOHN JAMIESON, D.D. F.R.S.E.

AS ONE OF THE PUBLISHERS OF THE SCOTTISH MONUMENTS

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GLASGOW

MDCCLXX.

TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

KING GEORGE IV.

THIS HUMBLE ATTEMPT

TO RESCUE FROM OBLIVION THE REMAINS OF THE

Residences of his Royal Ancestors in Scotland,

IS,

WITH PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST DUTIFUL AND DEVOTED SUBJECT,

WILLIAM BROWN.

THE

WILLIAM BROWN

THE

WILLIAM BROWN

WILLIAM BROWN

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* *N. B.*—In p. 46, instead of these words,—“It now belongs to the Duke of Hamilton,”—read, It now belongs to Sir Thomas Livingston, Baronet, of Westquarter, representative of the Earls of Linlithgow.

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DUNDEE ABBEY CASTLE





Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

DUNSTAFFNAGE CASTLE.

Dunstaffnage.

IF romantic and magnificent scenery,—if the pleasing interchange of mountain and valley, of wood and water, of sea and land, of island and continent,—conjoined with all those recollections, borrowed from the earliest ages of our history, which are most gratifying to national feeling,—be viewed as inducements in selecting the site of a royal residence ; it may well be questioned if Britain could present one more desirable than the vicinity of DUNSTAFFNAGE.

This ancient palace is seated on a rock, washed by the waves of the Atlantic. It is skirted on the right by that beautiful arm of the sea, called Loch-Etive, which runs far inward, and which must be distinctly remembered by all who have crossed it at Connal Ferry, so appalling to strangers ; where the body of water is so much confined by the narrowness of the sound, that, at particular times of the tide, it forces its way through, with great noise, like an impetuous river, over a rocky bed, forming a great variety of small whirlpools. Gough, in his additions to Camden's Britannia, justly calls this “ an extraordinary curiosity,” the waters “ falling at low water about seven feet,” so that “ the whole stream, to a great distance, is covered with white foam.”*

On the west, Dunstaffnage fronts that beautiful and fertile island, fitly denominated *Lismore*, or *Leasmore*, *i. e.* “ the great garden,” be-

* Britann. iv. 129.

yond which towers the bleak and rocky Mull. The prospect terminates, towards the north, with the lofty mountains of Morvern; while the view is enriched with a cluster of small islands, scattered in various directions. Behind it lies that fortress, celebrated in our ancient chronicles under the name of *Berigonium*, and also the ruined priory of *Ardchattan*, both of which are entitled to more particular notice.

This seat of royalty is situated in Mid Lorn, one of the divisions of Argyleshire. The form of its name has been considerably varied by different writers. By Boece, and his ancient translator, Bellenden, it is written *Dounstafage*, or *Dounstaphage*; by Fordun, or rather his continuator Bower, *Dunstafinch*.^{*} In Bleau's map it is *Dunstafage*. There has not been less variety in regard to the etymon given of this name. Camden, having said that Dunstafage was "anciently a royal residence," explains the term as signifying "Stephen's mount."[†] This idea appears to have been borrowed from our Boece, the father of so many fables in the history of Scotland. Speaking of a king whom he calls Evenus, he says; "*Arcem haud procul a Berigonio loco natura invictissimo ædificavit, Evonium dixit, a suo nomine, nunc Dounstafage vulgo, id est castrum Stephani, appellatum.*"[‡] For it is to be observed, that, according to our writers, this palace had both a vulgar and a royal designation.

Bellenden has thus rendered the passage: "Kyng Ewin biggit ane castell, nocht far fra Berigon, callit than [then] *Ewin*, efter his name, now callit Dounstafage." || It is observable, that Bellenden leaves out the explanation of the vulgar name, which had been given by Boece, as apparently not satisfied that it was well founded. He had, indeed, good reason for hesitation; as there is no evidence that it is any thing more than a monkish dream, like the origin assigned to the name of the town of Montrose,—*Mons rosarum*, "the mount of roses,"—the least appropriate designation that fancy could possibly

^{*} Hist. ii. 242.

[‡] Hist. Fol. 26, a.

[†] Britann. iv. 128.

|| Croniklis, B. ii. c. 15.

devise for a dry, barren isthmus of sand, apparently forced up by the action of the waves ; a mount on which a rose never grew but by the diligence of horticulture. As Stephen is a name scarcely known in Gaelic nomenclature, *Dunstaffnage* has been rendered, by those who seem best acquainted with the language, *Dun agus* (pronounced *is*) *ta inish*, as signifying "the fortified hill with two islands," descriptive of the local situation, the place having been denominated from two islands which lie north from the Castle. With this account Bower's orthography of *Dunstaffinch* most closely agrees.

"The builder of this castle," says Grose, "and time of its construction are unknown. It is certainly of great antiquity, and was once the seat of the Pictish and Scottish princes. Here, for a long time was preserved the famous stone, the Palladium of Scotland, brought, as the legend has it, from Spain. It was afterwards removed by Kenneth II. to Scone, and is now in Westminster Abbey, brought thither by King Edward I. On it was the following inscription :

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem."*

Our venerable Wyntoun has thus rendered this ancient national prophecy :

But gyf Werdys falyhand be, †
Quhare-evyr that stane yhe segyt se,
Thare sall the Scottis be regnand,
And lordys hale oure all that land.

CRON. B. iii. c. 9.

Boece has given the same legendary prediction, which I find thus translated, in a very old hand, on the margin of my copy of the first edition of his History :

* *Vide* Grose's *Antiq. Scotl.* ii. 293 ; also Pennant's *Hebrides*, p. 409 ; and Gough's *Addit. to Camden*, iv. 129.

† "Unless the Destinies fail," or "be defective."

The Scottis sall bruik that land as natiwe grounde,
Gif Weirdis faill nocht, quhair ewir this chyre is founde.*

This nearly corresponds with the version given by Bellenden.†
According to Wyntoun, Fergus, the son of Erc, brought this
“stone of power” with him from Ireland into Scotland; but, before
it reached Dunstaffnage, it had visited Icolmkill in its way. He, in-
deed, altogether omits the mention of this palace in the history of its
peregrinations, which might almost vie with those of the cottage of
“our Lady of Loretto.” For, according to his account, Fergus

Broucht this stane wytht-in Scotland
Fyrst quhen he come and wane that land,
And fyrst it set in Ikkolmkil,
And Skune thare-efir it wes broucht tyle:
And thare it wes syne mony day,
Qhyll Edward gert have it away, &c.

Leslie asserts that it was brought from Argyle to Scone by Ken-
neth Macalpine. ‡

“This castle,” Pennant has observed, “is fabled to have been
founded by Ewin, a Pictish monarch, cotemporary with Julius Cæ-
sar, naming it after himself, Evonium.” || Grose has said, “Accord-
ing to vulgar tradition, this castle was founded by *Edwin*, a Pictish
monarch.” It is probable that the name has assumed this form by
an error of the press. But this good-humoured writer has undoubt-
edly fallen into an error, when he speaks of this as “a vulgar tradi-
tion:” for, as far as I can learn, there is not a vestige of the name
Evonium among the natives. It seems to have no other authority
than that of Boece, who acknowledges that the intention of the mo-
narch, in designating the fortress which he erected from his own

* Boeth. Hist. Fol. 2, a.

‡ Hist. p. 174.

† B. i. c. 2.

|| Hebrides, *ubi sup.*

name, was in fact frustrated by the predominance of the vulgar designation. Although the so-called Evonium lies on the bay of *Oban*, even fancy can afford no aid from any supposed similarity; for the term *Oban* is explained "the white bay," whence the name of the modern town of Oban, at the distance of three miles from the palace.

This castle is of a square form, eighty-seven feet within walls, having round towers at three of the angles. The average height of the walls is sixty-six feet; nine in thickness. The external measurement of the walls amounts to two hundred and seventy feet. The circumference of the rock, on which it stands, is three hundred. It has its entrance from the sea by a staircase; but it is supposed that, in former ages, this was by means of a drawbridge. Only part of the building is habitable, the rest of it being in ruins. The masonry is considered as very ancient. At the distance of about four hundred feet from the castle are the remains of a chapel, formerly appropriated to the religious services of its inmates. This, in length, is seventy-eight feet; in height, fourteen; and in breadth, twenty-six.

It is said, that some of the ancient regalia were preserved here till the eighteenth century, when, in consequence of the infirmity of the keeper, they were embezzled by the servants, who could not withstand the temptation excited by the silver that adorned them. We are informed, however, that they left a battle-axe, nine feet in length, of beautiful workmanship, and embossed with silver.* Pennant has given a drawing of a small ivory figure, found here, which he thinks "was certainly cut in memory of" the celebrated "chair, and appears to have been an inauguration sculpture. A crowned monarch is represented sitting in it with a book," rather a scroll, "in one hand, as if going to take the coronation oath." Speaking of the ruined chapel, he says, that it had once been "an elegant building, and at one end an inclosure," used as "a family cemetery."†

* Camd. Britann. Addit. iv. 129.

† Hebrides, p. 409.

As, according to all the slender remains of our national history, the fatal chair of royalty was transferred to Scone, after the union of the Scots and Picts under the son of Alpin, it might naturally enough be supposed that Dunstaffnage lost much of its former importance. Being no longer, as it had been under the Dalriadic kings, the regal seat, nor, from the far greater extent of dominion, in a situation adapted for this pre-eminence, its name scarcely appears in our annals for some centuries. To me, indeed, it seems highly probable, that very soon after it had been deserted by its royal possessors, it had become a stronghold of the Norwegians.

About the year 843, Kenneth Macalpine transferred the seat of government from Dunstaffnage to "the palace of Forteviot, in Perthshire." * By this time the Norwegians had begun to make inroads on the western coast of Scotland, and had taken possession of a considerable part of Ireland. We may trace them, I apprehend, in the immediate vicinity of this regal fortress.

This calls our attention to DUNOLLY, a castle built on a great rock on the shore, about two miles from Dunstaffnage. But I should, indeed, do injustice to my reader, did I attempt to substitute any thing in the room of that fine description which has already been given of this place by Sir Walter Scott. "Nothing," he says, "can be more wildly beautiful than the situation of Dunolly. The ruins are situated upon a bold and precipitous promontory, overhanging Loch-Etive, and distant about a mile from the village and port of Oban. The principal part which remains is the donjon, or keep; but fragments of other buildings, overgrown with ivy, attest that it had been once a place of importance, as large apparently as Artornish or Dunstaffnage. These fragments inclose a court-yard, of which the keep probably formed one side, the entrance being by a steep ascent from the neck of the isthmus, formerly cut across by a moat, and defended doubtless

* Chron. Pict. v.; Innes's Crit. Essay, ii. 783.

by outworks and a drawbridge. Beneath the castle stands the present mansion of the family, having on the one hand Loch-Etive, with its islands and mountains; on the other, two romantic eminences, tufted with copsewood. There are other accompaniments suited to the scene; in particular, a huge upright pillar, or detached fragment of that sort of rock called plum-pudding stone, upon the shore, about a quarter of a mile from the castle. It is called *clach-na-cau*, or the Dog's Pillar, because Fingal is said to have used it as a stake to which he bound his celebrated dog Bran. Others say, that when the Lord of the Isles came on a visit to the Lord of Lorn, the dogs brought for his sport were kept beside this pillar. Upon the whole, a more delightful and romantic spot can scarce be conceived; and it receives a moral interest from the considerations attached to the residence of a family once powerful enough to confront and defeat Bruce, and now sunk into the shade of private life."*

Pennant has also observed, that it was "once the residence of the chieftains of Lorn."† It is now possessed by M'Dougal of that ilk, the representative of the ancient family of this name.

Such is the traditionary reminiscence of the dignity of Dunstaffnage, that, according to the inhabitants of the district, Dunolly was little more than one of the office-houses connected with the palace. For, misled by a similarity of sound, if not partly by the love of the marvellous, (to which there is somewhat of a characteristic propensity,) as in Gaelic *ollamh*, pronounced *ollah*, signifies a physician, it is received as an historical fact, that the medical practitioner, who was attached to the royal family, had this castle allotted to him as his residence, the name being rendered, "the fort of the physician." While, however, the absurdity of the idea appears, not only from the distance, which must have rendered it quite ineligible as a residence for one whose services would be often required at a moment's warning, but from the total improbability that a place of such consequence

* Lord of the Isles, Note, p. 303, 304.

† Hebrid. *ut sup.*

would be assigned to any officer of the court; it seems to be directly opposed to historical truth, of a far more authentic character than the greatest part of that which our meagre records furnish in regard to so remote a period.

Olaf was a very common name among the Danes and Norwegians. It appeared in different forms; as in that of *Aulaiv*, *Aulaf*, *Olave*, *Olo*, and in Latin of *Olaus*.* Of this name there was a Scandinavian king of Dublin, A. 853, and another, A. 959.† Somerled, Thane of Argyle, and Lord of the Isles, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, married a daughter of *Olaus*, King of Man, from whom "our genealogists deduce two dynasties, distinguished, in the stormy history of the middle ages," the Lords of the Isles, and the Lords of Lorn.‡ As the Norse Princes, whether coming immediately from Norway, from the Orkneys, from Ireland, or from Man, made frequent descents on the western coasts and islands of Scotland, it seems almost certain that the name *Dunolly* signifies "the fortified hill of Olave." That it was a place of very considerable consequence in that quarter, and had received this name, even before the close of the seventh century, is undeniable, from the notice taken of it in that invaluable relic of antiquity, the Annals of Ulster. Here it is mentioned, "A. 685. Com' assit Tula aman (*sic*) *Duin Olla*." It is afterwards said,—"700. The destruction of *Dunaila* by Selvach."—"713. *Dun Olla* construitur apud Selvaon."—"733. Talorgan filius Dros-tani comprehensus alligatur juxta *arcem Olla*."—"852. Aulay, King of Lochlin," *i. e.* of Scandinavia, "came into Ireland, and all the foreigners of Ireland submitted to him."|| In the oldest map we have of Lorn, that of Timothy Pont, *Dunolly* is denominated *Doun oldyf*.¶

* Sax. Grammat. Worm. Monument. Danic. p. 195.

† Torfæi Orcad. p. 12, 13, 33.

‡ Scott's Lord of the Isles, Note, p. 288.

|| Ap. Pinkerton's Enquiry, ii. 311-315.

¶ I did not observe, till after writing this article, that Pinkerton entertained the same idea as to the origin of the name. In reference to one of the passages quoted above from

We lose sight of Dunstaffnage for several centuries, till it again rises up to view during the eventful reign of Robert Bruce. It was then possessed by Alexander of Argyle, father of John, whom Archdeacon Barbour calls "the Lord of Lorne," and who, he says, dwelt in the vicinity of the head or source of Tay.

The lord of Lorne wonnyt thar by,
That was capitale ennemy
To the king, for his emys sak,
Jhon Cumyn ; and thought for to tak
Wengeance apon cruell maner.

THE BRUCE, B. ii. 396.

John, called the Red Cumyn, whom Bruce had slain at Dumfries under the imputation of treachery, was *eme*, that is uncle, to John of Lorn ; Alexander of Argyle, the father of the latter, having married Cumyn's daughter. Sir Walter Scott having remarked, that according to Lord Hailes, she was his aunt, adds that "the genealogy is distinctly given by Wintoun.

The thryd douchtyr of Red Cwmyn,
Alysawndyr of Argayle syne
Tuk, and weddyt til hys wyf :
And on hyr he gat in-tyl hys lyf
Jhon of Lorne, the quhilk gat
Ewyn of Lorne eftyr that."

CRONYKIL, B. viii. c. vi. v. 206.

the Annals of Ulster, in which the place is called *Dunolla*, he says ; " This is surely the noted castle in Lorn."—Vide *Enquiry*, ii. 122. That excellent northern scholar, Johnstone gives the same explanation :—" *Dun Oly*, i. e. Olave's Tower. The place might receive this name, from having been the residence of *Olave*, the youngest son of Somerled thane of Argyle."—*Haco's Expedition against Scotland*, Note 77.

This Alexander adhered to the interests of Baliol. At the time here referred to, Bruce was defeated in the battle of Dalree, near Tyndrum : but afterwards, A. 1308, having defeated the army of John of Lorn, he besieged his father in his fortress of Dunstaffnage.

The king, that stoute wes, stark, and bauld,
Till *Dunstaffynch* rycht sturdely
A sege set ; and besyly
Assaylit the castell it to get.—
Schyr Alexander off Arghile, that saw
The king distroy wp, cleue and law,
His land, send treyteris to the king ;
And come his man but mar duelling.
And he resawyt him till his pess.

THE BRUCE, B. vii. 410.

Bower, in his continuation of Fordun's Chronicon, says that Alexander rendered the castle to Bruce ; but that, refusing to do homage to him, he received from the king a safe-conduct for himself and all who wished to retire with him, and fled into England, where he died. This account is more credible than the other ; as the father certainly died in England, and John his son fled by sea, continuing, as we learn, from Barbour, in his rebellion.

It is in relation to this interesting part of our history that Sir Walter Scott has introduced the following notice of this palace, in that beautiful poem the scene of which is laid in this enchanting district of our country.

“ Daughter,” she said, “ these seas behold,
Round twice an hundred islands roll'd,
From Hirt, that hears their northern roar,
To the green Ilay's fertile shore ;
Or mainland turn, where many a tower
Owns thy bold brother's feudal power,
Each on its own dark cape reclined,
And listening to its own wild wind,

From where Mingary, sternly placed,
O'erawes the woodland and the waste,
To where Dunstaffnage hears the raging
Of Connal with his rocks engaging."

LORD OF THE ISLES, Cant. i. st. 8.

The lands of Dunolly still belong to the Macdougals, who claim as their ancestor this Alexander of Argyle. Their claim, indeed, seems indisputable. "The islands," Pennant has remarked, "remained governed by powerful chieftains, the descendants of Somerled, thane of Heregaidel, or Argyle, who, marrying the daughter of Olave, king of Man, left a divided dominion to his sons Dugal and Reginald: from the first were descended the Macdougals of Lorn: from the last the powerful clan of the Macdonalds. The lordship of Argyle, with Mull, and the islands north of it, fell to the share of the first; Ilay, Cantyre, and the southern isles, were the portion of the last."*

Nisbet gives the following account of this family; although he has strangely disguised the name of the place. "There was," he says, "a great and old family of this name in Argyleshire, called M'Oul, M'Dowall, or M'Dugall, Lords of Lorn, whose title and lands went, by an heiress, to Stewart, Lord of Lorn, and are now in the family of Argyle; Colin Campbell, the first earl of Argyle, having married Isabel, heiress of Stewart of Lorn.—The heir-male of this family is John M'Dougall of *Dunolik*, whose castle of *Dunolik* was the mansion-house of the said family."†

The late proprietor informed me, that they had lost by far the greater part of their lands in consequence of their adherence to the interest of Baliol; and that on this ground Dunstaffnage had passed from them to the family of Argyle, who claimed this as their share of the spoil. In conformity with this account, it has been said; "When the wars between the Bruce and Baliol factions again broke out in

* Hebrid. p. 236. V. also Lord of the Isles, p. 300.

† Heraldry, i. 286.

the reign of David II., the lords of Lorn were again found on the losing side, owing to their hereditary enmity to the house of Bruce. Accordingly, upon the issue of that contest, they were deprived by David II. and his successor of by far the greater part of their extensive territories, which were conferred upon Stewart, called the Knight of Lorn. The house of Macdougall continued to survive the loss of power, and affords a very rare, if not an unique, instance of a family of such unlimited power, and so distinguished during the middle ages, surviving the decay of their grandeur, and flourishing in a private station.*

A charter of Robert I. is still extant, granting "to Arthur Campbell," fourth son of the brave Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, "the constabulary of Dunstaffnage, and the maines thereof, whilk Alexander Argyle had in his hands."† David II. confirms a charter granted by his father to William *de Vetere Ponte* (Weapont), dated at Dunstaffynch in the fourth year of his reign.‡

"I find," says Pennant, "about the year 1455, this to have been a residence of the *Lord of the Isles*; for here James, last Earl of Douglas, after his defeat in Angus, fled to Donald, the regulus of the time, and prevailed on him to take arms, and carry on a plundering war against his monarch James the second."|| He refers to Hume of Godscroft as his authority. But all that Godscroft says is; "the Earle himself by flight got him to Dunstaffage, where finding Donald Earle of Rosse, and Lord of the Isles, he incited him to make war against the king in his favours, and after he had engaged him therein, he withdrew himselfe again into England."¶ This, however, does not amount to a proof that Dunstaffnage was then occupied as a palace by these usurping *reguli*.

I have not observed that this circumstance is mentioned by any of

* Lord of the Isles, Note, p. 302.

† Robertson's Index, p. 15.

‡ Registr. Mag. Sigilli, p. 47, No. 137.

|| Hebrid. p. 410.

¶ Hist. Doug. p. 203.

our writers but Buchanan ; who merely says, that “ Earl James *met with* Donald, the tyrant of the isles, and Earl of Ross, at Dunstaffnage ;—*ad Stephanodunum convenit.*”^{*} From the phraseology, then, we can only infer that this was the appointed place of meeting : and it was most probably selected as the most convenient place for both ; the earl of Douglas, having no maritime accommodation, coming to that point which Donald could easily reach by sea. We cannot, indeed, suppose that this had become “ a residence of the Lords of the isles,” without assuming it as a fact, that that branch of the noble family of Argyle, to which this fortress had been appropriated by Robert I., had been expelled from it.

About four miles from Dunstaffnage, on the opposite side of the Connal ferry, is the site of that ancient place, which in our chronicles has received the name of BERIGONIUM. The erection of this fortress has been fabulously ascribed to Fergus, the first of the name, and the first in our legendary catalogue of kings. He, it is said, “ beildit the castell of Berigone in Lochquhaber. This castell standis in the west part of Scotland fornent the Ilis, quhare he exercit his lawis to that fyne, that his pepyl micht be drawin the more esaly for exercitioun of justice.”[†] Not to say that the place referred to is only in the vicinity of the district now called Lochaber, it would appear that what is here asserted can be carried no farther back than to Fergus, the second of the name, who came to Argyle from Ireland about the year 503, with his brothers Angus and Loarn ; from the latter of whom it is most probable that the region, called Lorn, received its denomination. The highest honour to which Berigonium has a claim, is undoubtedly that of having been the capital of the ancient Dalriadic kingdom, extending from Drum-albin, or the mountains of Braidalbane, to the Mull of Cantire.

^{*} Hist. Lib. xi. c. 44.

[†] Bellend. Cron. i. 12.

It is beyond a doubt, that the term *Berigonium*, also written *Beregomum*,* is a misnomer. There is not a vestige, in the language or traditions of the country, that this castle ever bore a name that had the slightest resemblance of this. It has been supposed, that Boece, finding *Rerigonium* mentioned by Ptolemy, had not only read it erroneously, but, in consequence of the false position given to our country in the map, had viewed a town or castle in Galloway as belonging to Argyle.† We learn, however, from Camden, that the oldest edition of his Geography, printed at Rome A. 1480, gives *Berigonium*, which he views as the modern *Bargeny* in Carrick.‡ The only Gaelic name, by which the pretended Berigonium is known, is *Dun-Mac-Sniochan*, or *Dun-Macsnichan*. As *Sniochan* is supposed to be a patronymic, the designation may signify, “the fortified hill of the son of Sniochan or Snachan.”||

It is by no means improbable that this name had originated in a later æra than that of the erection of the kingdom of the Dalriads; as it will be found that, in many instances, the name borrowed from posterior occupants supersedes that of those who preceded them. This holds as to a variety of camps or fortifications, undoubtedly Roman or British, which are by the tradition of the country called Danish; as having been, like Dunolly described above, possessed by these northern invaders in a later period. The name Sniochan, or Snachan, has more appearance of relationship to Norwegian, than to Celtic, nomenclature. For, in the Danish memorials, we meet with *Snig-ur*, or as otherwise written *Snio*, in Latin bearing the form of *Snigon-is* in the genitive, as the name of a northern prince.¶

That this was a place of some consequence in former ages, is evident from what still remains of it. As it was situated between two

* *Vide* Camd. Britann. iv. 128. and Bleau's Atlas.

† *Vide* Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 224.

‡ Camd. iv. 70.

|| *Vide* Stat. Acc. vi. 180.

¶ Worm. Monum. Danic. p. 314. Messen. Scandia, i. 47.

hills, “ a street paved with common stones, running from the foot of the one hill to the other, is still called *Straid-mharagaid*, ‘ the market-street,’ and another place, at a little distance, goes by the name of *Straid-namin*, ‘ the meal-street.’ About ten or eleven years ago a man, cutting peats in a moss between two hills, found one of the wooden pipes that conveyed the water from the one hill to the other, at the depth of five feet below the surface. On Dun Macsnichan is a large heap of rubbish and pumice stones; but no distinct traces of any building or fortification can now be seen on either of the hills, the foundations having been dug up for the purpose of erecting houses in the neighbourhood. There is a tradition among the lower class,—that Beregonium was destroyed by fire from Heaven.”*

The following account of this place has been given by the ingenious Pennant, in which he views the remains in a light considerably different. “ It was at best such a city as Cæsar found in our island at the time of his invasion; an *Oppidum*, or fortified town, placed in a thick wood, surrounded with a rampart or fort, a place of retreat from invaders. Along the top of the beach is a raised mound, the defence against a sudden landing. This, from the idea of here having been a city, is styled *Straid-a-mhargai*, or market-street. Within this are two rude erect columns, about six feet high, and nine and a half in girth.”†

The other hill, which is much higher, is called *Dun-bhail-an-righ*, (pronounced *Dun-valire*), “ the hill of the king’s town.” It is surrounded by circular trenches. As this district is filled with memorials of the Fingalian Heroes, tradition pretends to point out this lofty hill as the site of the royal “ halls of Selma.”

Pennant, who has discovered volcanoes where they never existed, says of Dun-macsnichan; “ The hill is doubtless the work of a volcano, of which this is not the only vestige in North Britain.” On ex-

* Stat. Acc. *ubi supr.*

† Hebrid. p. 412.

aming this hill, I saw no reason to entertain a doubt that it exhibited the remains of an ancient British fortress: for the *Scoria* found on it exactly agrees with that which is met with in the many vitrified forts that are scattered through Scotland.

The beautiful site and fine plantations of Lochnell, the seat of General Campbell, add greatly to the richness of the landscape. "The country about," as the amusing traveller last mentioned has remarked, "rises into a lofty but narrow eminence, now finely wooded, extending in a curvature, forming one side of an enchanting bay; the other impending over the sea."*

I cannot bid adieu to this interesting, and to a Scotsman truly classical, scenery, without taking a passing look at the ruins of ARDCHATTAN, although about ten miles distant from Dunstaffnage, on the north side of Loch Etive. This was a priory of the monks of *Valliscaulium*, "founded in the year 1230, by Duncan Mackoul, ancestor—to the Macdougals of Lorn."† Some of the walls of the old priory are still standing. "The proprietor's dwelling-house," we are told, "was formerly a part of the monastery, and his offices occupy great part of the ground on which it stood. What now remains of the priory is converted into burying-ground." In the walls are two stone coffins in niches, one of which is ornamented "with a font, and an inscription in the Runic character."‡

There is one circumstance, that may be viewed as forming a link of connexion between this priory and the palace already described. We are informed by some of our writers, that Robert Bruce held a parliament here, when he retired into this district after his defeat in the battle of Methven. But, as Pennant has remarked, it was "more probably a council," as "he remained long master of this country, before he got entire possession of Scotland."||

* Hebrid. p. 412.

† Stat Acc. vi. 179.

† Spotiswood's Rel. Houses, p. 262, 8vo. edit.

|| Hebrid. p. 411.

WINDMILL
FROM THE EASTERN SIDE



ascending the hill, I saw an object to entertain a doubt that it existed in the vicinity of an ancient British fortress: for the towers found on it exactly agree with those which are seen within the wavy vitrified forts that are scattered through Scotland.

The breadth was said the plantation of Lochmell, the seat of General Campbell, and greatly to the richness of the landscape. "The scenery above," as the strolling traveller just mentioned has remarked, "is like a valley but narrower enclosure, now finely wooded, extending in a curve, forming one side of an enchanting bay; the other depending over the sea."

I cannot bid adieu to this interesting, and to a Scotsman truly classical, scenery, without taking a passing look at the ruins of Ardcharran, although about ten miles distant from Dunstaffnage, on the north side of Loch Eilze. This was a priory of the monks of *Collescothum*,[†] founded in the year 1150, by Thomas Mactach, abbot of the Monastery of Iona.[‡] Some of the walls of the old priory are still standing. "The prior's dwelling house," we are told, "was formerly a part of the monastery, and his office occupy great part of the ground on which it stood. What now remains of the priory is a small ruin, the walls of which are two stories higher in places, one of which is ornamented with a font, and an inscription in the Latin language."

There is one other object that may be viewed as forming a link of connection between Dunstaffnage and the priory already described. We are informed by *Spalding's History*, that Robert Bruce held a parliament at Dunstaffnage, soon after his defeat in the battle of Bannockburn. *Spalding* has remarked, it was "more probably a council," as he was then long master of this country, before he got entire possession of Scotland.[§]

[†] *History*, p. 212.
[‡] *Scott. Ann.* 1150.

[†] *Spalding's Hist. House*, p. 262, 8vo. edit.
[§] *Hobell*, p. 411.



Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

DUNOON CASTLE
FROM THE GANTOCK ROCKS.

Dunoon.

THE slender remains of the palace of DUNNOON lie in the parish of this name, on the right side of the Frith of Clyde, in the district of Argyleshire called Cowal. The orthography of the term has assumed a variety of forms. It is erroneously given by Gough under that of *Denoon*; * and still more so in Timothy Pont's map, where it appears as *Dunouy*.† In this map, the river *Clyd* is represented as terminating opposite to Dunoon, and *Dunbritan Fyrht* as commencing immediately below. The industrious Macpherson has pointed out *Dunhun* or *Dunhovyn* as "the capital castle of the lordship of Cowal."‡ The latter orthography corresponds with Wyntoun's, which is *Dwnhovyn* and *Dwnhowyn*; nearly agreeing in sound with *Downhowne*, that of Fordun. Boece has *Dounhome*. || Irvine explains Noviodunum as denoting "*Dun-noon* castle, in Cowall, be-east Towart point."¶ He follows the absurd mode adopted by Buchanan, who has often completely disguised the local names of our country, by giving them a Latin form, totally removed from that which properly belongs to them, or is indicative of their origin. According to this form, the term has been supposed to be derived from the Gaelic *dun*, a castle, and *nuadh*, new. § For Buchanan gives it as "*Noviodunum, vel Dunum Novum, in Covalia.*"***

* Addit. to Camd. Britann. iv. 124.

† Bleau's Atlas, *Buthe*.

‡ Geogr. Illustrations.

|| Hist. Scot. F. 130, a.

¶ Hist. Scot. Nomenclat.

§ Stat. Acc. ii. 383.

** Buchanan. Hist. Lib. ii. c. 33.

Some have asserted "that the castle of Dunoon was formerly a nunnery;" and that "the name comes from the Gaelic word *Dun-no-ogh*, which signifies the house of the virgins."* Were this the origin, it should certainly have the plural form, *Dun-nan-oighean*. The denomination given by Pont, if not a typographical error, might seem to have originated from this term in the singular.

By some, a preference has been given to the etymon adopted by Buchanan, on the supposition that Dunoon, being the nearest fort on the frith to Dunbarton, and in all probability erected in a later age, was thence called *New Fort*. But it must be evident that this idea is exceedingly vague. There is no reason to suppose that Dunoon existed for many centuries after the fame of Dunbarton had been far spread; or that the former ever attained such eminence as to bring it in any respect into comparison, not to say competition, with the latter. Such also was the distance between them, besides the intervention of different arms of the sea, that the one could not well be subsidiary to the other. Nor would the designation, *New Fort*, be a sufficient mark of distinction, while there was at least Dunglass in the immediate vicinity of Dunbarton, and Rothesay in that of Dunoon.

As our most ancient writers exhibit this name in an aspirated form, perhaps there is ground for viewing its origin as northern. Dunoon may, like Dunolly, have received its designation from some Scandinavian chief. *Hogni* was a common name among the colonists of Iceland; who, it is well known, emigrated from Norway in the ninth century.† Although the form of *Dunhovyn* might suggest the idea of affinity to Icelandic *hoefn*, portus; it happens unfortunately for such an etymon, that "there is no creek, or shelter of any consequence, or safety, even for boats, at or near this village."‡ As *Owen* was a name in Scotland borne by Welsh, by Picts, and by Scots, although sometimes appearing as *Hoan*, *Eogan*, *Eoghan*, &c. this fort may

* Stat. Acc. ii. 383.

† Stat. Acc. ii. 385.

† Islands Landnamabok.

have been denominated q. *Dun-Owen*, or *Dun-Eogan*.* But it would seem, that we must rest in what has been said on this head by an intelligent writer in our Statistics :—" The origin of this name cannot well be ascertained."

" It is probable," we are told, " that the mount on which the castle of Dunoon is situated, was once surrounded by the sea ; and the minister's glebe has a bank of sandy clay in it, which seems to have been formed by the sea."† But this seat of royal greatness is now so demolished, that there are scarcely any vestiges of what it once was. This has been chiefly in consequence of the dilapidations to which it has been subjected, the stones having been abstracted for building the adjoining cottages. It is astonishing, indeed, that the landed proprietors of our country have not, long ere now, established a general association for the preservation of what is certainly not less valuable than the game on their estates.

It appears to have consisted of three towers, one looking up the frith, another in an opposite direction, and a third guarding the approach from the land. The first of these is the only one of which there are any distinct traces. It has been of a circular form. Ten or twelve feet of the wall are still standing. On the side parallel with the frith, may be seen the remains of a small entrance, which, it is supposed, must have served as a sally-port, and a place of escape in cases of emergency. It is believed that there are still a number of vaulted apartments, pretty entire, under the ruins. The site of the castle includes about an acre of ground ; being much broader at the base, where it fronts the frith, than behind.

The received belief of the vicinity is, that there was a nunnery, at a little distance from the castle, where stands the present church. In support of this hypothesis, it has been urged, that on clearing away the ruins of the old chapel, part of which composed the church, when

* *Vide* Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 93, 95 ; ii. 96, 97, 98.

† Stat. Acc. ii. 384.

the workmen began to pull down the gable, they discovered a beautiful Gothic window, which had previously been so built up and plastered as to be indiscernible. But this proves nothing as to the existence of a nunnery; as it may reasonably be supposed that the chapel, appropriated to the worship of the court, would be finished in the best style of the age. There is no vestige, in our monastic history, of any nunnery in this district.

Near the castle stood the *tom-a-mhoid*, or the hill of the court of justice, the same which is elsewhere called the *mote-hill*. Here also was the *Gallow-hill*, the name of which sufficiently indicates its appropriation. A ploughed field is still denominated the *Cuspars*, or the *butts*, marking the scene of ancient archery. The privilege of a ferry was granted to the heritable keepers, on condition of their supplying the garrison with certain provisions.

The castle of Dunoon, it has been said, is of great, but undefined, antiquity. It originally belonged to the hereditary High Stewards of Scotland, to whom Malcolm gave a grant of Bute and Cowal, in the eleventh century.* According to our historians, indeed, Walter, the son of Fleance, having adhered to the interests of Malcolm Canmore, not only received from him the baronies of Renfrew and Kyle, but was made Lord of Bute and Cowal, then at the king's disposal, in consequence of an insurrection of the islanders, in quelling which he acted as his Majesty's lieutenant and commander in chief. In reward for his services, he was also made *Dapifer Regis*. His son Alan was by King Edgar constituted *Senescallus Scotiæ*, or Great Steward of Scotland, whence originated the family name.†

Dunoon had remained in the possession of the Stewarts till the reign of David II., who, in consequence of the insurrection of Edward Baliol, A. 1333, had deserted the throne. Baliol having overrun the country, among other fortresses took Dunoon. His despicable sur-

* Steam-Boat Companion, p. 57.

† Stewart's Hist. Account of the Royal family, p. 45, 46. Abercromby's Mart. Atchievements, i. 363, 444. Leslæus De Rebus Gestis, p. 200, 246.

render of the kingdom to Edward III. so disgusted the nobles, that some of them rose in defence of their liberties; and Robert the Steward, who had lain concealed in Bute, resolved to stand forth in the public cause. He escaped to Cowal, and aided by Campbell of Lochow, one of the ancestors of the family of Argyle, made himself master of the castle of Dunoon, A. 1334. Of this transaction Wyntoun gives the following account:

—In Argyle wes a Barown,
That had a gret affectyown
To this Stwart the yhyng Roberd;
And als hys wil wes til enherde*
To the Scottis mennys party:
He wonnyd at Lochawe ner by.
The Stwart send for hym, and he
Come til hym swne wyth his menyhè.†
So spak thai, that he tuk on hand
Til helpe hym for til wyn his land,
And to mak it his awyn fre;
Dowgal Cammell to name had he.
Thai gaddryd men, quhyll‡ that thai ware
Foure hundyr, as men sayis, and mare;
And in galays|| be the se
To *Dwnhovyn* went that menyhè,
And wyth gud trettè wan it swne,
And hes keparis in-til it dwne.¶
Qwhen the Brandanys of Bute herd say,
That thare Lord in swylk aray
Had tane *Dwnhovyn* in-til Cowale,
In hy with hym thai ras§ all hale.

CRONYKIL, viii. c. 29, v. 161, &c.

By Lord Hailes, after Fordun and Wyntoun, this chief of the Lochawe family is called Dougal. But David Macpherson has just-

* Adhere.

|| Galleys.

† Followers, troops.

¶ Placed.

‡ Until.

§ Rose in arms.

ly remarked, that Wyntoun has mistaken his name, and has misled others; Buchanan being the only one who has given him his true name, which was Colin, as appears from several charters quoted by Crawford, *Officers of State*, p. 41.* In reward of his faithful service, Campbell was made hereditary governor, and had the grant of certain lands for the support of his dignity.†

Robert, the first king of the Stewart family, succeeding David II., the castle would henceforth be viewed in the more honourable light of a palace. In the year 1544, the Earl of Lennox, anxious to obtain the regency, having received the support of Henry VIII., appeared in the Frith of Clyde with eighteen vessels and eight hundred soldiers. Having made himself master of Rothesay, he proceeded to Dunoon. Here he met with a powerful opposition from Archibald Earl of Argyle; but the latter was obliged to retreat with loss, being unable to resist the force of Lennox's artillery.

Among the records of this ancient and honourable family, there is a charter under the great seal, by James III., to Colin Earl of Argyle, Master of his Majesty's Household, and his heirs, giving and committing to him the charge of the king's castle of Dunoon, with power to make constables, porters, jailors, watermen, and other officers necessary for keeping of the said castle, and to remove them at his pleasure; also giving and granting to the said earl the lands of Borland, with the pertinents, &c. dated 15th January 1472. Also, a bond by the same king, of an earlier date, (22d February 1468,) whereby he obliges himself to satisfy the said Colin and his heirs for the expenses incurred by him in repairing the castle of Dunoon. There is also a sasine upon a precept in Chancery, in favour of Archibald Earl of Argyle, of, *inter alia*, the castle of Dunoon and lands of Borlands, dated 13th November 1542. No separate titles appear subsequent to this. The whole estate was consolidated by entail in the person of Archibald the first duke, A. 1706.‡

* Notes to Wyntoun, ii. 508.

† Pennant's Hebr. 180.

‡ For these communications I am indebted to the kindness of John Ferrier, Esq. W. S. Deputy Keeper of the Privy Seal. Crawford says of Colin, that "he was created Earl

In the retours of services, the same Archibald is acknowledged as vested in the lands of Bordland, (or Boirland,) with the keeping of the castle of Dunoon, also written *Donon*.*

Mary, it has been asserted, in the month of August 1568, paid a visit at Dunoon to her favourite sister the Countess of Argyle. While here, she is said to have employed herself in the diversion of deer-hunting, and to have availed herself of the opportunity to grant charters to her vassals.† The person referred to must have been “Lady Jean Steuart, natural daughter of King James V.”‡ who was the first wife of Archibald Earl of Argyle.

The account given of this visit is obviously misdated. It could not have taken place A. 1568. It must refer to 1563. In a progress through the west of Scotland, Mary having, on the 26th of July, left Inverary, where she had remained three days, she turned to Strone, where she slept, and went to Dunoon, on the 27th, and there passed the following day.||

The following remarks have been made on the duration of the residence of this family at Dunoon.—“How long this continued to be the residence of the Argyle family is uncertain. That such was the case in 1673, appears from the date of a charter; but at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Marquis of Argyle lived at Inverary. After that period, the castle ceased to be inhabited, and was allowed to fall into a state of dilapidation.”

But there is apparently some want of connexion in this account. For, according to Pennant, “Inverary—was inhabited about the latter

of Argyle by King James II. *anno* 1457, being a man of eminent parts,” and “was, in the reign of James III., employed in the highest offices in the state, as Privy Seal, Master of the Household, and Lord High Chancellor, all which he discharged with great ability and integrity. He was in no less favour with James IV.—who constituted him again Chancellor, A. 1488.”—*Peerage*, p. 17.

* Inquis. Retorn. Argyll. No. 93, 101.

† Steam-Boat Companion, p. 58.

‡ Crawford's Peerage, p. 19.

|| Household-Book, *ap.* Chalmers's Life of Mary, i. 108. *Vide* also Keith's Hist. p. 240.

end of the fourteenth century by Colin, surnamed *Tongallach*, or the *Wonderful*, on account of his marvellous exploits; and, I may add, his odd whims: among which, and not the least, may be reckoned the burning of his house at Inverary on receiving a visit from the O'Neiles of Ireland, that he might have pretence to entertain his illustrious guests in his magnificent field equipage. The great tower, which was standing till very lately, was built by the black Sir Colin, for his nephew, the first Earl of Argyle, at that time a minor. I do not discover any date to ascertain the time of its foundation, any further than that it was prior to the year 1480, the time of Sir Colin's death.—In December 1644, amidst the snows of this severe climate, the enterprising Montrose poured down his troops on Inverary, through ways its chieftain thought impervious.* It would appear, therefore, that Dunoon was only the occasional residence of the Argyle family; as they were the hereditary keepers of this palace.

The village of Dunoon originated from the residence of this noble family at the castle or palace. In consequence of this, many of their vassals had houses built in its vicinity, which they occupied when they attended the court of their chief. Here also the bishops of Argyle resided, at least occasionally, after the restoration of episcopacy, in the reign of Charles II. Near the church, the ruins of the bishop's house are pointed out; where one of the fire-places is still visible. In former times the island of Lismore was their seat, whence they were called *Episcopi Lismorenses*. Dunoon is the seat of a presbytery, and is said to be one of the most ancient parishes in Scotland. To this the parish of Kilmun is annexed, which has received its name from being the site of the *cell* of St. *Mun*. His burial-place is called *Sith-Mhun*, that is, Mun's burial-place, or more literally, "place of rest." The bay, in which it is situated, which opens two or three miles above Dunoon, has been viewed as deriving

* Tour in Scotland, Part II. 2, 3.

a peculiar sanctity from this venerable inhabitant; for it is known by the designation of *Loch-seant*, or "the Holy Loch." The name of this saint is also written *Mund*. We learn from Spotiswood, that "Kilmund was founded as a collegiate church," in *honorem Sancti Mundi Abbatis*, by Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, ancestor to the Duke of Argyle, for a provost and several prebendaries, with two singing boys, August 4, 1422. The charter, respecting his donations to this foundation, was confirmed by King James II. at Perth, May 12, 1450.* Camerarius gives to St. Mundus Abbot a very high character; asserting that, by the sanctity of his life, and the number of his miracles, he was celebrated to his time in the province of Argyle; where, he adds, apparently in the language of exaggeration, many churches may be found dedicated to him, as well as monasteries erected by him.† He died A. 962. Dr. Smith mentions, as one of the most eminent disciples of St. Columba, "St Munna, son of Fulchan, abbot of Teachmhunna."‡ Archdall says, that "St Munnu, the son of Fulchan, founded an abbey" at Tachmon, or Teachmunnu,|| near Wexford in Ireland. "This saint," he adds, "had one hundred and fifty-two holy disciples, and was zealously attached to the ancient custom of celebrating the feast of Easter;" which proves that he was a Culdee. He assigns his death, however, to the year 634. Notwithstanding the slight difference in orthography, and the greater one as to the date, this is undoubtedly the same person who acquired such celebrity in the western part of our country.

A few miles higher, an arm of the sea, named Loch-Long, breaks off from the frith, which has been distinguished in our national history, as it is recorded by the Scandinavian historians, although the accounts of our own writers are defective. Haco, king of Norway,

* Religious Houses, p. 286.

† De Scotorum Pietate, p. 131.

‡ Hist. St. Columba, p. 160.

|| Monasticon Hibernicum, p. 750.

having invaded the west coast of Scotland with a great fleet and powerful army, before the battle of Largs, A. 1263, or, according to the Chronicle of Melrose, 1262,* sent sixty of his ships into *Skipa-fiord*, as it is called by the Norwegians, under the command of Magnus, king of Man, and other distinguished leaders. "When they came into the inlet, they took their boats, and drew them up to a great lake called *Loko-lofni*. On the far side round the lake was an earldom called *Lofnach*. In the lake there were a great many islands well inhabited; these islands the Norwegians wasted with fire. They also burned all the buildings about the lake, and made great devastation.—Afterwards the Norwegians retired to their fleet, and met with so violent a storm, that it dashed in pieces about ten of their ships in *Skipa-fiord*." Another tempest assailed that part of the fleet, which remained with Haco near the Cumray islands. Five vessels were cast ashore. "So great was this storm, that people said it was raised by the power of magic." In reference to this fancy, the Norwegians thus expressed themselves in the poetry of that age: "Now, our deep-enquiring sovereign encountered the horrid powers of enchantment, and the abominations of an impious race.—A magic-raised tempest blew upon our warriors.† Our brave ancestors, with a little more discretion towards their enemies, and modesty in regard to their own power, ascribed both the victory by land, and the devastation by sea,

* Chron. de Mailros, p. 225.

† Haco's Expedition, p. 77–81, 87. Torfæi Hist. Orcad. Lib. ii. p. 167. Pennant, when quoting the words of Torfæus, gives them thus: "Universas villas in circuitu Lacus *Lokulofvii* vastarunt." In the passage referred to by him (Hafniæ, 1697) it is *Lacus Lokulofrii*. But Johnstone has undoubtedly given the genuine orthography. *Loko-lofni* is nearly allied in form to what Baxter views as the origin of the name *Loch-lomund*, which he calls the vicious pronunciation of the modern Lowlanders. For he renders it *Lug lovn munt*, or "the mouth of the light water."—Glossar. p. 151.

to the divine goodness, and the merits of the holy Queen Margaret, the patroness of Scotland.*

Skipa-fiord, in Icelandic, and *Loch-lhong*, in Gaelic, have the same meaning, both signifying the *Bay* or *Firth of Ships*. *Loko-lofni* is rendered by Johnstone Loch-lomond. It can refer to no other lake. Nor does the name seem improper; as it bears an obvious analogy to that of the river into which this lake pours its redundant water. This is *Leven*, deduced from Gaelic *le*, smooth or soft, and *avon*, a river.† From *Lofni* is evidently formed *Lofnach*, the name given to the earldom referred to, that is, Lennox, anciently written *Levenaux*; from *Leven*, and *vuisge* or *uisc*, water, q. “the water of Leven;”—an idiom very commonly used in North-Britain to denote the land lying on a particular river or stream.

I cannot more properly conclude the account of this royal residence, than by quoting the beautiful description given of the prospect from it by Pennant. “The view down the *Firth* now appears extremely great: the shire of Renfrew bounds on one side; the hills of Cowal, sloping to the water-edge, and varied with woods and corn lands, grace the other: in front are the greater and the lesser Cumrays, the first one remarkable for its church, dedicated to St. Columba, and at present for the quarries of beautiful free-stone; the last for the abundance of rabbits; the isle of Bute, with its fertile shore, lies oblique, and the stupendous mountains of Arran soar at some distance far, far above.”‡

Nor can the following extract be deemed unworthy of a place.

* Interea nutu Dei, et meritis Sanctæ Margaretæ reginæ, regni Scotiæ protectricis, ipso die belli orta est in mari validissima tempestas, &c.—Fordun. Scotichron. Lib. x. c. 15, 16.

† Stat. Acc. iii. 443. Baxter, *ut supra*.

‡ Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 180.

"The view from Dunoon is one of the most variegated and extensive on the Frith—stretching from near Dunbarton Castle to the rock of Ailsa—comprehending the coasts of Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Argyleshire, and Buteshire—displaying an immense expanse of ocean, animated with the ever-moving vessels of commerce and pleasure—and exhibiting all the diversity of mountain, valley, wood, rock, and coast scenery."*

* Steam-Boat Companion, p. 59.



VALLEY OF THE RIVER

"The view from Dunoon is one of the most variegated and extensive on the Frith—stretching from near Dunbarton Castle to the rock of Ailsa—comprehending the coasts of Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Argyshire, and Buteshire—displaying an immense expanse of ocean, animated with the ever-moving vessels of commerce and pleasure—and exhibiting all the diversity of mountain, valley, wood, rock, and coast scenery." *

* *Scottish Tourist's Companion*, p. 24.



Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

FALKLAND PALACE.



Designed by W. H. Brown

FALMOUTH PLACE



Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

FALKLAND PALACE.

Falkland.

THE name of this place apparently claims a Gothic origin. It may have been formerly known from some celebrated breed of hawks, *q. Falcon-land*; from Suio-Gothic *falk*, A. S. *vealh*, Teut. *valck*, a species of hawk. This, however, must be left as uncertain, because of the variations in the orthography of names: for this is not only written *Falkland*, *Faulkland*, *Faukland*, and, by Irvin, *Falcoland*; but, in a charter of Malcolm IV. A. 1160, mention is made of *Scradimig-glock*, *Falecklen*, *Radhulit*, and *Cattel*, in which forms the names of Strathmiglo, Falkland, Rathillet, and Kettle, appear.*

It lies in the county of Fife, at the north-east foot of the East Lo-mond, one of the two mountains which rise up abruptly in the midst of the plain. Should we view this term as of Welsh extraction, it might be deduced, with considerable analogy to the natural appearance, from *llo*, what is thrown out, or ejected, and *mwnt*, that which rises up, a mound, a mount, or mountain.

The site of the modern Falkland has been invested with an imaginary honour, in relation to an early period of our history. "Some think," as we learn from Sir Robert Sibbald, that "the station, or camp, of the ninth legion was where the town of Falkland stands now."† But I have met with no earlier notice of it, that can be deemed authentic, than as part of the property of the powerful Earls

* Hist. Fife, P. i. c. 7, p. 228.

† Ibid. p. 71.

of Fife, who were descended from Macduff, the thane of that district, who attained such celebrity in the time of Malcolm Canmore, having been the chief instrument of his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, as he had been the great opponent of the usurper Macbeth.

We are informed by Sibbald, from the Book of the Priory of St. Andrews, now lost, that, in the fifth year of David I., Constantine, Earl of Fife, and Macbeth, *Thane of Falkland*, gathered together an army to prevent Robert de Burgoner from forcing the Culdees of St. Andrews and Lochlevin to give him the half of the lands of Kirkness, in which they succeeded.*

Duncan, the sixth Earl of Fife, married Ada, the niece of Malcolm IV. Among the lands which constituted her dowry, those of Falkland are specified; as appears from Malcolm's charter, above quoted. Mention is made of the castle or tower, in an indenture between Isabel, Countess of Fife, and Robert Stuart, Earl of Monteith, son to Robert II., whom she acknowledges as her lawful heir-apparent, A. 1371. "The said earl," it is said, "shall have in his keeping the *castle* of Falkland, with the forrest of it, and a constable shall be placed there—by him, as he pleaseth; and the said countess may stay within the *tower* when she pleaseth; and the whole village of Falkland, over against the said tower, shall be set in tack," &c.† This Robert was afterwards not only Earl of Fife, but Duke of Albany, and Regent. On the execution of his son Murdo, A. 1424, James I. annexed the earldom to the crown.

It had formerly a designation, which, as far as I have observed, occurs in no other instance. Speaking of the forfeiture of the Earl of Fife, Sibbald says; "It was before that called the Castle or *Mar* of Falkland, and was one of the seats of the Macduffs."‡ I have met with no word that seems to have any probable affinity, unless we should view it as softened in pronunciation from Welsh *magwyr*,

* Hist. Fife, P. iv. s. 8, p. 387.

† Ibid. P. iii. s. 3, p. 232, 233.

‡ Ibid. p. 386.

“ what is raised up, a structure, a wall, a building, a house ;” Owen. From some of our acts of parliament, it appears that these hills were commonly denominated “ the Lowmondis of Falkland.”*

This fortalice had in effect the honours of a palace, while it was occupied by one of the blood-royal, Robert, Duke of Albany, who, for thirty-four years, had all the power of the state in his hands, under the different titles of lieutenant-general, governor, and regent. Although Robert gives it the more humble designation of *Manerium nostrum de Fawkland*,† it was in fact the seat of authority ; for his aged and infirm father constantly resided in the island of Bute. It receives its first notoriety, in the history of our country, from the horrid cruelty here perpetrated by Albany on his nephew David, Duke of Rothesay, eldest son of Robert III. The governor, in consequence of the great promise of this young prince, fearing that he would prove the rival of his power, used the basest means to prejudice his imbecile father against him ; and prevailed with him to issue an order to arrest and confine him for some time, it being represented that this was necessary for curbing his violent humours. Being inveigled, under false pretences, into Fife, he was shut up in the tower of Falkland, where he was consigned to the cruel fate of dying by famine. His life was for some days feebly sustained by means of thin cakes, pushed through a small crevice in the wall,‡ by a young woman, daughter to the governor of the castle : but her mercy being viewed, by her ruthless father, in the light of perfidy to him, she was given up to destruction. Even this brutal act did not deter another tender-hearted female, employed in the family as a wet-nurse, who supplied

* Act. Ja. VI. 1594, 1597, edit. 1814, &c. p. 65, 131.

† Chart. A. 1398 ; Robertson's Index, p. 162, No. 13.

‡ Bellenden states it differently. “ It is said, ane woman hauand commiseratioun on this duk, leit meill fall doun throw the loftis of the toure.” This more literally expresses the meaning of Boece's language : “ Per strictum quoddam foramen *farinam fundens*,” &c.

him with milk from her breasts by means of a long reed. She, in like manner, fell a sacrifice to her compassion.*

It does not appear that Falkland was much used as a royal residence till the reign of James V. It can hardly be supposed that the first of this name could look with complacency on the place that had been the prison and the slaughter-house of his brother, whose fate his own would in all probability have rivalled, had he not had a safer prison-house awaiting him in an enemy's country. There is, however, one charter of confirmation, by his son James II., dated at Falkland, October 15, 1446.†

James V. was much attached to Falkland, apparently as amply furnishing the means of gratifying his taste for "hunting and hawking:" for we learn that "the king was at Falkland, amusing himself with the pleasures of the chase," when he seized the opportunity of the absence of the Earl of Angus in Lothian for freeing himself from his thralldom to the Douglasses. Having ordered preparations for a solemn hunting on the ensuing day, he, in the disguise of a clown, attended by some faithful servants, set out on horseback, and reached Stirling by dawn of day.‡ This, however, was only a temporary desertion; for he afterwards enlarged and improved Falkland.

"The remains," as Pennant has remarked, "evinced its former magnificence and elegance. The gateway is placed between two fine round towers; on the right hand joins the chapel, the roof of which is of wood, handsomely gilt and painted, but in a most ruinous condition. Beneath are several apartments. The front next the court was beautifully adorned with statues, heads in bas-relief, and elegant columns, not reducible to any order, but of fine proportion. Beneath some of these pillars was inscribed I. R. M. G. 1537, or *Jacobus Rex*.

* *Vide* Boeth. Hist. lib. xvi. fol. 250; Buchanan, lib. x. c. 10; Pinkerton's Hist. i. 68.

† Act. Parl. ed. 1814, ii. p. 57.

‡ Pitscottie, p. 217-220; Pinkerton, ii. 290.

Maria de Guise."* The unhappy Mary appears to have inherited her royal father's attachment to Falkland. She visited it in the month of September 1561.† When, according to Buchanan, a plot had been laid by Bothwell and the Hamiltons to take away the life of her natural brother, the Earl of Murray, that the queen might be completely in their power, Bothwell urged that the method of compassing it was easy. The Queen being then at Falkland, in the neighbourhood of which there was a small wood, where stags were kept, whither, or at least to its vicinity, she daily resorted, with a slender retinue, it was said that she might be surprised without any difficulty. At this time it was thought that they might easily destroy Murray, while unarmed, and without suspicion; and thus obtain possession of her Majesty's person.‡ According to Knox, this charge of treason was exhibited by Arran, A. 1562. He seems, however, to think that the charge originated from the frenzy of this nobleman.||

We find her at Falkland, February 15, 1563.¶ Having at St. Andrew's received intelligence of the assassination of her uncle, the Duke of Guise, we are informed that, on the 19th of March, she proceeded to Falkland, and for the three following days tried to dissipate her melancholy by the pastimes of this place. Here, also, after a short tour, she amused herself in her usual manner, from the 3d till the 19th of April, when she removed to Lochleven.§ Falkland was also a favourite residence of James VI., on account of the fine park and plenty of deer.** The park was planted with oaks and elders. It was enlarged by the prince last mentioned, to the compass of three miles.†† Near the palace are several houses, marks of his munificence; as he built and bestowed them on his attendants,

* Pennant's Tour, iii. 185.

† Buchanan. Hist. lib. xvii. c. 29.

¶ Chalmers, *ut sup.* i. 102.

** Pennant's Tour, iii. 185

† Chalmers' Life of Mary, i. 55.

|| Hist. Reform. p. 307, 308.

§ Ibid. p. 103.

†† Hist. Fife, p. 386, 387.

who acknowledge his bounty by grateful inscriptions on the walls. The following has been given as a specimen :

“ Al praise to God and thankis to the most excellent monarche of Great Britane, of whose princelie liberalitie this is my portioun. *Nicol Moncrief.* 1610.” *

The building has, at one period, formed a square. Two sides of it are standing, one of which only is the inhabited part. The heads above referred to, with which it was adorned, according to the taste of the times, are still very entire. These have been cut on freestone, with a circular border; and have been evidently meant to represent the Stewart family.

“ There is,” according to Sibbald, “ hard by the palace to the north, a fair large house built by David Murray, Viscount of Stormount, then stewart of Fife, in the very spot where (some think) stood the old castle where David, Duke of Rothesay, was famished to death by his ambitious uncle.” †

It was at Falkland that, in the year 1593, the unprincipled Francis, Earl of Bothwell, with his associates, made an ineffectual attempt to get possession of his Majesty's person. ‡ Here, also, the first scene of the dark tragedy, known by the name of the *Gowrie Conspiracy*, has been laid, in the account published of it by royal authority. “ His majestie having his residence at Falkland, and being daily at the buck hunting, (as his use is in that season,) upon the fifth day of August, [1600] raide out to the parke, between six and seven of the cloke in the morning, the weather being wonderfull pleasant and seasonable. But before his majestie could leape on horseback, Maister Alexander Ruthven, second brother to the late Earle of Gowrie, being then lighted in the town of Falkland, hasted him fast down to overtake his majestie before his onleaping, as he did,” &c. ||

In the year 1593, James VI. includes in his *Morning Gift*, or dowry to Anne of Denmark, his queen, not only the lordship of Dunferm-

* Pennant, *ut sup.* p. 286.

‡ Act. Parl. iv. Ja. VI. 1593, edit. 1814, p. 9.

† Hist. Fife, *ut sup.*

|| Muses Threnody, i. 188.

line, and the lordship and palace of Linlithgow, but also "the erldom of Fyff, with the palice and castell of Falkland, lordschip, landis, woddis, schawis, pasturis, rentis, fermes, dewties, custumes, mylnis, multuris, with aduocatioun and donatioun of benefices," &c.*

This place gives the title of Viscount to the English family of Carey; Sir Henry Carey being created Viscount Falkland by James VI., 1620.† In the year 1621, there was a parliamentary ratification of the grant made to John Murray of Lochmaben, and to his heirs and assignees, of "the castelsted of Faulkland, office of forrestarie of Faulkland, and of all woddis, medowes, schawis, and deiris thairoff; the office of bigging & vphalding of the saidis wallis, dyikis, and pealling [paling] of the said medow & woddis, with the feyis, [fees,] casualties, proffittes, and dewties pertening and belonging to the said office."‡

The east wing of the palace was accidentally consumed by fire during the reign of Charles II., but a considerable part of the walls still remains. The south front is pretty entire. The park was ruined during Cromwell's usurpation, when the fine oaks were cut down in order to build his fort at Perth.

Till lately, the Duke of Athol was hereditary keeper of this palace. The last name to which this honour is assigned is that of John Bruce, Esq. of Grangehill, late printer to his majesty.

Part of the palace has been lately repaired. In laying out the garden, and levelling the ground, the workmen discovered a number of arched apartments, the masonry of which bears marks of great antiquity.

There is a large plain, on the east of the palace, in which a little knoll rises here and there above the level. This consists of moss, which has lately been well drained; exhibiting the remains of what was called the *Rose Loch*; the knolls having been islets. The water of this lake must then have washed that part of the building

* Act. Parl. A. 1593, iv. 25.

† Camd. Brit. iv. p. 117.

‡ Acts, *ut sup.* p. 665.

which was discovered at the bottom of the garden. Some, yet surviving, say they have shot wild ducks on this *Loch*.

“Falkland was erected into a burgh by King James II. in the year 1458. The preamble to the charter of erection states, as reasons of granting it, the frequent residence of the royal family at the manor of Falkland, and the damage and inconvenience sustained by the many prelates, peers, barons, nobles, and others of their subjects, who came to their country seat, for want of innkeepers and victuallers. This charter was renewed by King James VI. in the year 1595.”*

It might reasonably be supposed, that, while Falkland continued to be the occasional residence of royalty, it was not only a place of resort to the higher classes, but that the peasantry would be permitted to enjoy that festivity here which was most congenial to their humours. As it was a favourite residence of that mirthful prince James V., it might well be conjectured, from his peculiar habits, that he would be little disposed to debar from its purlieus those with whom he was wont frequently to associate in disguise. Accordingly,—although it is still matter of dispute among our poetical antiquaries, whether the palm should not rather be given to his ancestor James I.,—one of the most humorous effusions of the Scottish muse has, with great probability, been ascribed to the fifth of this name, which contains an express reference to the jovial scenes of the vulgar at Falkland.

Was nevir in Scotland hard nor sene
Sic dansin nor deray,
Nowthir at *Falkland on the grene*,
Nor Pebillis at the Play,
As wes of wowaris, as I wene,
At Chryst-kirk on ane day, &c.

CHRYSTIS KIRK ON THE GRENE, st. i.

* Stat. Acc. iv. 445.

According to the learned Callander, Christ's Kirk is "Kirktown of Leslie, near Falkland."* Others have said, with less probability, that it belongs to the parish of Lesly, in that part of the county of Aberdeen called the Garrioch.† Pinkerton thinks that, besides the poems of *Christ's Kirk* and *Peblis to the Play*, a third one, of the same description, had been written, which is now lost, celebrating the festivities of *Falkland on the Grene*.‡ This phraseology might refer to what has been called "the park of Falkland."

Sir David Lyndsay, being attached to the court, must have passed much of his time at this royal residence. According to his own account, notwithstanding the badness of the ale brewed in the burgh, he led a very pleasant life here: for, in the language of anticipation, he bids adieu to the beauties of Falkland in these terms:

Fare weill, Falkland, the forteress of Fyfe,
 Thy polite park, under the Lowmound law:
 Sum tyme in thé, I led a lustie lyfe,
 The fallow deir, to sé thame raik on raw.
 Court men to cum to thé, thay stand greit aw,
 Sayand, thy burgh bene of all burrowis baill,
 Because, in thé, thay never gat gude aill.

COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPINGO.

* Anc. Scottish Poems, p. 99. † Tytler's Poet. Remains of James the First, p. 165.

‡ Anc. Scottish Poems, published A. 1786, p. 449.

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EMILY'S PLACE



Engraved by W. Miller



Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

LINLITHGOW PALACE.

CHATEAU DE MONTFERRAND PALACE



Exposed by S. G. 1885



Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

COURT OF LINLITHGOW PALACE.

Linlithgow.

THIS is unquestionably a place of great antiquity. It seems doubtful, however, if it was made a royal burgh before the reign of Robert II. It was formerly one of the king's demesnes.

Some antiquaries have supposed that this was the *Lindum* of the Itineraries; misled by the accidental sameness of the first syllables of the different names. But there is no reason to doubt that the *Lindum* of the Romans was the modern Ardoch. Notwithstanding this misnomer, it is highly probable that the Romans had a station at Linlithgow, where the site of the palace now is.* In the vicinity of the town, an urn full of Roman coins was found, A. 1781. Three hundred of these, according to Mr. Chalmers, were presented to the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland: but in the Account, published by themselves, to which he refers, their number is reduced to *nine*; those found, in all, amounting to about three hundred.†

David I. had a castle here, and a grange. This appears from a charter granted by him to the monks of Holyroodhouse.‡ Edward I., during his treacherous usurpation of the supreme authority in Scot-

* Sibbald's Linlithgowshire, p. 15. Caledonia, i. 166; ii. 842.

† Vide Account of the Institution, &c. p. 60.

‡ Concedo—omnes pelles arietynas, et suinas, et agninas, de *castello* et de Lynlithqu, que moriuntur de meo dominio.—Registr. Magn. Sigill. p. 185. Vide also Maitland's Hist. Edin. p. 145.

land, built a place of strength here, A. 1300, which was called the *Pele* or *Peel*.^{*} During the year 1301, Edward wintered at Linlithgow. Lord Hailes seems to fix the erection of the *Pele*, and Edward's residence at Linlithgow, to the same year, (1301;) as if he had supposed that he tarried here for accomplishing this work.[†] This was taken from the English, in the year 1312, by an ingenious stratagem of one Bunnock, a tenant of the Knights of St. John. Archdeacon Barbour has given a particular account of this in *THE BRUCE*.[‡] The work was dismantled by order of King Robert. "In the reign of Edward III.," Pennant has said, "the English possessed it again; for there is extant an order for the custody of the hospital to *John Swanland*." This order must have been issued during the captivity of David II. It may be observed, however, that it affords no direct proof that the Peel had been fortified anew: for it exclusively respects the hospital; and there is no evidence that this was inclosed within the fortress. The hospital referred to might be that of St. Mary Magdalene, near Linlithgow, afterwards disposed by James I. to Robert de Lynton.[§]

David II., wishing to have accommodation here corresponding with his rank, in his progress through the kingdom, about the year 1350, gave John Cairns, an inhabitant of the town, the liferent of the park around the castle, containing fourteen acres, on condition of his making the necessary reparations; which was accordingly done. On the death of James II., his queen dowager, Mary of Gueldres, to whom the estate of Linlithgow belonged as dowry, gave orders, by a warrant from the privy seal, A. 1460, that the apartments, formerly occu-

^{*} Fordun, Lib. xii. c. 1.

[†] Annals of Scotl. i. 270. See also Maitland's Hist. Scotl. i. 460.

[‡] B. vii. 451 of the edition published by the writer of these Illustrations. Barbour also gives the name in the form of *Bonnok*. This has been viewed by Nisbet, in his Heraldry, i. 110, as the same name with Binning. *Vide* Notes to *The Bruce*, p. 450, 451.

[§] De custodia hospitalis de Lynlithkou data et concessa Johanni Swanlund.—Ayloffe's Calendar of Charters, p. 162. Spotiswood's Relig. Houses, p. 534.

pied by David Bruce, should be prepared for the reception of the unfortunate Henry VI. of England, when driven from his kingdom by Edward IV.

This place became a favourite residence with the princes of the house of Stuart: and well might it do so, the situation being so delightful.

Robert II. had resided here during part of the fifth, fourteenth, eighteenth, and twentieth years of his reign; as appears from his charters dated at this place. His son, Robert III., had occasionally occupied the same royal residence in the second and third years of his reign.*

On the site of the castle the palace was built. A considerable part of it was erected according to the plan, and under the eye, of Cochrane the architect, who, chiefly from his superior taste in this line, had acquired that ascendancy with his sovereign which proved fatal to himself, and alienated from James the affections of his nobles, who were incensed at the advancement of this minion to a participation in the royal counsels, to their own exclusion. James IV. preferred this to any other residence. By him, it is said, was built the eastern part of the palace, which has been peculiarly splendid. Here stood a fine statue of Pope Julius II. with the triple crown.

“The palace is all of polished stone, and covers about an acre of ground. James V. added the Chapel and Parliament Hall. James VI. completed the grand square, by erecting the magnificent apartments on the north. In the centre of the area was a fine well, adorned with several statues; and so constructed as to raise the water to a great height.”† Of this, the well afterwards built towards the street, was only a coarse imitation.

My learned friend, the late Sir Alexander Seton of Preston, has made a remark, and recorded an anecdote, which, from his accurate

* *Vide* Reg. Magn. Sig. 128, 6; 139, 67; 160, 34; 173, 22; 174, 26; 176, 41; 178, 4, 5; 179, 6; 180, 7; 203, 22; 210, 41, 42; 211, 44.

† Stat. Acc. xiv. 566.

acquaintance with the locality, undoubtedly deserve our attention.—“ We may judge of the appearance of the palace, and of the splendour of the court of Scotland, from its being said by Mary of Lorraine, James II.’s queen, when she first saw it, *That she had never seen a more princely palace.*”^{*} He essentially differs, however, from the reverend writer of the Statistical Account, in his estimate of the additions made by James VI. “ Some years,” he says, “ after his accession to the crown of England, 1619, he ordered the north side of the square to be pulled down, and rebuilt after his taste, *i. e.* more like a *burgher* than a king. For, by lowering the ceilings, and lessening the dimensions of the rooms, he obtained a greater number of them, and an additional storey to the building.”[†]

Part of the palace was repaired for the reception of Charles I., when he made his visit to Scotland; although his design of visiting this place was not fulfilled. It continued habitable until the year 1745, when, having been occupied by a portion of the royal army, it was accidentally burnt through the carelessness of the soldiers. This was merely a renewal of its former fate. For not only was Linlithgow consumed with fire during the minority of James I., A. 1411, but “ the town, the nave of the church, and the royal palace, were all burnt by night,” in the year 1424.[‡]

In this palace James V. was born, on the 11th of April 1513; also his daughter Mary, December 8, 1542, a few days before the death of her father at Falkland. The room, in which this unfortunate princess was born, is pointed out. From its dimensions, it could not be very comfortable in the winter season for a valetudinarian. It measures fifty-one feet by twenty-one, and sixteen in height. It had three

^{*} Transact. Soc. Antiq. Scot. Vol. ii. Part i. p. 48. James II. must be an *erratum* for James V., as his queen is called Mary of Lorraine, as well as Mary of Guise.

[†] Stat. Acc. *ut sup.* p. 50.

[‡] Anno Dom. 1411, villa regia de Linlithgow casuali incendio comburitur.—Eodem anno, (1424) combusta est villa regia de Linlithqu, navis etiam ecclesiæ ejusdem, et palatium regis, de nocte.—Scotichron, Bower, Lib. xv. 23; xvi. 9.

doors communicating with it; and does not seem to have been provided with grates, the fires having apparently been kindled on the hearths. On each side of this apartment is pointed out an Audience-room or Hall, most probably what would now be called an Antichamber. The carving in these rooms must have been very fine; but it is now much defaced. The building extends 174 feet from east to west, 136 from north to south, and is 96 in height at the north-east end. The court within the palace is 90 feet by 87. The Parliament House, erected by James V., measures 100 feet by $30\frac{1}{2}$; its height to the ceiling being nearly 33. The chapel is 51 feet in length, and 30 in breadth. The wall of the palace is about ten feet thick.

The only place of worship in Linlithgow was originally a royal chapel. The present church, the interior of which has lately been handsomely repaired, was also royal property. It was dedicated to Michael the Archangel, whose statue yet appears on the steeple. According to some traditionary notices, it was in one of the apartments of the palace, that James IV. received what was accounted a supernatural warning against that expedition into England, which proved fatal, not to him only, but to the greatest part of the Scottish nobility. We learn from Pitscottie, that "att this tyme the king came to Lithgow, quhair he was at the *counsall* verrie sad and dollorous, makand his prayers to God, to send him an guid succes in his voyage."* From the mode of expression, it might at first view be inferred, that his majesty was in the council-chamber when he received this warning. But it would appear, that the introductory language is meant merely to give the reason why the king *came* to Linlithgow at this time; that it was to hold a council on the state of public affairs. In some manuscripts, indeed, the reading is, "where he happened to be at the time *for* the council." Buchanan, accordingly, assigns this pretended apparition to the church during vespers. "Rex Lin-nuchi vespertinas in *æde sacra* cantiones (ut tum moris erat) audit,"† &c.

* Cronicles, p. 264, ed. 1814.

† Hist. Lib. xiii. c. 31.

The more generally received tradition is that given by Sir Alexander Seton, that the king was "at evening service in St. Catherine's aile," when "the ghostly visitor appeared to him before his invasion of England." For, in the progress of the narrative, according to the more correct copies, Pitscottie says, that the man who appeared came in *at the kirk door*. He also states, that "the royal family had a private entry from the palace, by a door in the north wall of the church."*

This unearthly monitor is described as "ane man clad in ane blew gowne, belted about him with ane roll of lining, and ane pair of brot-tikines on his feitt.—Bot he had nothing on his head, bot syd hair to his shoulderis, and bald befor. He seemed to be ane man of fiftie yeires.—When he saw the king he gave him no due reverence nor salutation, but leined him down grufflingis vpoun the dask, and said, 'Sir king, my mother has *send* me to thé, desiring thé not to goe quhair thow art purposed, quhilk if thow doe, thow sall not fair weill in thy jorney, nor non that is with thé. Fardder, shoe *forbad* thé, not to mell nor vse the counsell of vomen, quhilk if thow doe, thow wil-be confoundit and brought to shame.' "†

The story, as here related, breathes the genuine spirit of the Church of Rome, in that idolatrous honour given to the Virgin Mary at the expense of the Son of God. For he is evidently represented by the "man of fiftie yeires;" and made to act and speak as inferior to his earthly *mother*. From her the message proceeds, as well as the prohibition and commination. No Protestant can hesitate in viewing the whole as a plot, on the part of the nobles, to deter the king from this mad undertaking. From that part of the prohibition which respects *melling* with women, it has been supposed, with much probability, that the queen was privy to the stratagem.‡

Buchanan gives this story on the testimony of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, "a man of approved worth and honesty, and of a learn-

* Trans. Soc. Antiq. Vol. ii. Part i. p. 48.

† Pitscottie, edit. 1814, p. 264, 265.

‡ Pinkerton's Hist. Scotl. ii. 96.

ed education, who, in the whole course of his life, abhorred lying;" adding, "If I had not received this story from him as a *certain truth*, I had omitted it as a romance of the vulgar." His readers, however, might feel a strong curiosity to know why Buchanan has given it in so different a form. For he makes the pretended heavenly visitant entirely to draw a veil over the usurped rights of parental authority. According to his narrative, he merely says, "I am *sent* to warn thee—I am *commanded* also to tell thee." When relating the vision as a *certain truth*, has he deemed it most prudent to keep "The Mother of heaven" in the shade, that he might not subject his whole narration to the ridicule of a more enlightened age?

Sir Walter Scott has fitly introduced this vision into his *Marmion*, making Sir David Lyndsay the narrator. The following lines form the conclusion:

The wondering Monarch seemed to seek
For answer, and found none:
And when he raised his head to speak,
The monitor was gone.
The Marshal and myself had cast
To stop him, as he outward past;
But lighter than the whirlwind's blast,
He vanished from our eyes,
Like sunbeam on the billow cast,
That glances but, and dies.

MARMION, Cant. iv. st. 17.

This is a faithful version of the truly graphical description given by our old *naive* historian. "Before the king's eyes, and in presence of all the lords that were about him,—this man vanished away, and could noways be seen or comprehended, but vanished away *as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind.*"

The original entry to the palace was from the east. But it is generally believed that it was changed by James V., by means of a draw-bridge, to the south. He also "built those two magnificent

porches of approach, on the outer of which the badges of the orders of St. Michael, the Golden Fleece, and Garter, conferred on him by France, Spain, and England, together with his own order of the Thistle, are cut in large medallions over the gate." For he "revived the order of the Thistle, and, in the choir of the church, erected marble stalls for the knights, and a throne for himself, as sovereign of the order, under a pannelled oak ceiling, ornamented and tastefully painted."*

The Earl of Linlithgow was hereditary keeper of the palace from the union of the crowns till the year 1715. This office belonged to the Duke of Montrose till A. 1740. General Glen is said to have had this charge up till the time that the palace was burnt. It now belongs to the Duke of Hamilton.

A mint had been established here, at least during the reign of James I. The groats issued from it are said to have been of the silver found in a mine in the southern extremity of the parish, formerly belonging to the noble family of Haddington, now the property of the Earl of Hopetoun.† Cardonnel, in his description, gives *Villa de Linlithe* as the legend of the inner circle, on the reverse. But Snelling justly reads *Linlithc*. Cardonnel's error may have proceeded from inattention to the slight difference between the Saxon *e* and *c*. For in his plate it is rightly engraved.

The orthography of the name of this place has, indeed, been very various. The most ancient form in which it appears, is that of the charter of David I. This, in the Register of the Privy Seal, in a confirmation by Robert III., is *Lynlithqu*.‡ Maitland gives us *Linlitcu*, from what he calls "the beautiful original in the archives of Edinburgh."§ Elsewhere, a charter of the same prince is referred to, in which he confers on the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews, "in p^uram et perpetuam eleemosynam, ecclesiam suam de *Linlydgu*."|| In

* Sir A. Seton, Trans. Antiq. *ut sup.* p. 48.

† Stat. Acc. xiv. 561, 562.

‡ Reg. p. 185.

§ Hist. Edin. p. 144, 145.

|| Stat. Acc. xiv. 566.

Ayloff's Charters, it appears both as *Linliscu* and *Lynlithkou*.* The accurate D. Macpherson had met with other varieties, as those of *Linliscoth*, *Linlinsco*, and *Linlithquu*.† Even so early as the era of Robert II. it occasionally appears in the abbreviated form of *Lithcu*,‡ nearly the same which is still retained as the vulgar name of this burgh. It is also written *Lithgv*.§ John Hardyng, most probably from the manner in which he heard the name expressed, in his peregrinations through Scotland, in the reign of Henry V., in order to collect proofs of the dependency of our ancient kingdom on the English crown, uses the orthography of *Lithcowe*, *Lithkove*, and *Lythko*.||

I can form no conjecture as to Buchanan's reason for denominating this place *Limnuch-um*.¶ Irvine has explained Linlithgow as signifying "the lake of the black hound."** This corresponds with the Gaelic etymon that has been given, founded on some silly tradition about a black bitch, that was found fastened to a tree on the east side of the loch.††. Some, indeed, who have traced the word to a Gaelic origin, have asserted that *Linnh leachgu* signifies "the lake or pool of the black ascent," or "heathy slant;" *dubh*, black, taking the sound of *cu* or *gu*, from its construction with the preceding term, denoting ascent. It may, however, be from the old British. Baxter has fancifully deduced the latter part of the name, *Lithgow*, from C. B. *ladh coit*, which he renders *curia sylvarum*.‡‡ As *llyn* also denotes a lake, perhaps more strictly than the Gaelic synonyme, *llyth* is used to express that which spreads out, *lled* breadth; and *cau* a hollow, *cw* a concavity. It may thus signify, *the broad hollow on the lake*, or *the lake of the broad hollow*; as the *lake* is undoubtedly the most striking object in this site.

* Calendars, p. 109. 162.

† Reg. Sig. Magn. 128, 6.

|| Chronicle, p. 416, 428.

** Hist. Scot. Nomencl. vo. *Limnuchus*.

‡‡ Glossar. vo. *Lindum*.

† Geogr. Illustrations, in vo.

§ Reg. Sig. Magn. 174, 26.

¶ Hist. Lib. i. c. 28.

†† Stat. Acc. xiv. 548, note.

No one, indeed, can view this beautiful lake, or the lofty trees, the sheltered avenues, and handsome pleasure-grounds in its vicinity, together with the magnificent ruins of the royal residence of our ancient kings, with the venerable church adjoining, the fine terrace on which both it and the palace stand, without feeling the force of the beautiful description given of this interesting scene by our national Bard, as if the language of the celebrated Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount:

Of all the palaces so fair,
Built for the royal dwelling,
In Scotland, far beyond compare
Linlithgow is excelling;
And in its park, in jovial June,
How sweet the merry linnet's tune!
How blithe the blackbird's lay!
The wild buck bells from ferny brake,
The coot dives merry on the lake,
The saddest heart might pleasure take
To see all nature gay.

MARMION, Cant. iv. st. 15.



SCOTT'S PALACE.

Donated by Mr. [illegible]

Engraved by W. Miller

No one, indeed, can view this beautiful lake, or the lofty trees, the sheltered meadows, and lawns and pleasure-grounds in its vicinity, together with the magnificent ruins of the royal residence of our ancient kings, with the venerable church adjoining, the fine terrace on which both it and the palace stand, without feeling the force of the beautiful description given of this interesting scene by our national bard, in the language of the celebrated Sir David Lyndsay of the *Thage* :

Of all the pictures on the
Earth, for the royal dwelling
Is famous, the royal residence
Lithgow is dwelling
And in the park, as green as
The green of the earth, the trees
Are like the forest of the
The wild birds here have their
The cat does carry on the
The sudden heart might pleasure take
To see all nature gay.

MARMION, Cant. iv. st. 15.



Drawn by W. Brown

SCONE PALACE.

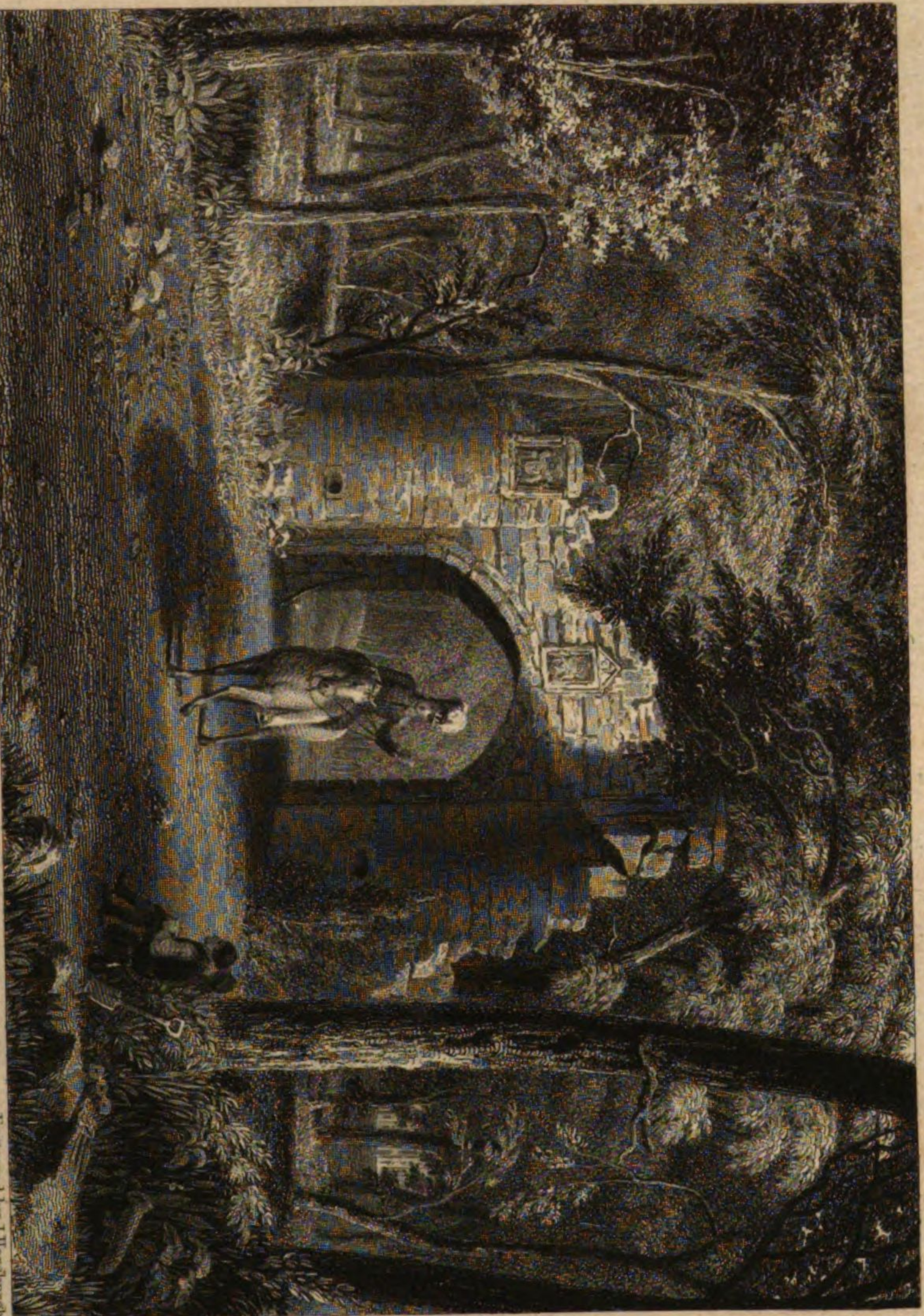
Engraved by W. Miller



ACORN HALL
ANCIENT GALLERY.

Photo by W. Brown

Exposed by J. H. Brown



Drawn by W. Brown.

Engraved by J. Horsburgh.

SCONE PALACE
ANCIENT GATEWAY.

Scone.

THE most ancient orthography of this name is *Scoan*. I have elsewhere observed, that those who view it as of Celtic origin, trace it to Gael. *skain*, more properly *sgain*, a rent; although it is admitted that there is no local circumstance which warrants this etymon. It has been also remarked, that it might seem to claim more affinity with the Gothic; as Suio-Goth. *skoen*, A. Saxon *scon*, and Alemannic *skon*, signify beautiful, a designation quite appropriate to the situation of the place.* Those, who are anxious to trace this term to the Gaelic, might seem to have a tolerably plausible plea, from the authenticated fact of this having been the place where one of our kings held an ecclesiastical assembly, in which the rights of the church were amicably settled; as Gael. *scaoin* signifies peace. But, in support of this idea, it would be necessary to shew that history furnished no evidence of the previous existence of the name. Unluckily, however, for this embryo etymon, it must appear, from an extract to be afterwards introduced, that the place was thus denominated before the meeting of this council.

Scone makes its first appearance in our history in the reign of Kenneth, the son of Alpin, who united the Pictish dominion to the Scot-

* *Vide Slezzer's Theatrum Scotiæ; Illustrations, p. 38.*

tish, about the year 843. On that occasion, it is asserted by our ancient writers, he translated the *Stone of Fate* from Dunstaffnage to Scone. Could we give credit to the testimony of Boece, there was a special reason for its being placed here; as Scone was not only situated in the district called Gowrie, formerly belonging to the Picts, but it was in the immediate vicinity that Kenneth had obtained the decisive victory over them.

Our good old Bellenden gives the following account. "The Pichtis in this jurnay come to Scone, quhare now is ane riche abbay of Channonis regular, and fand kyng Kenneth with al his army afore thair cuming.—Quhen Kenneth had distroyit the Pichtis, & conquest thair realme in this maner, he brocht the fatall chier of merbill out of Argyle to Gowry, quhilk chier (as said is afore) wes brocht out of Spanye in Ireland be Symon Breck, and out of Ireland be Fergus the first king in Argyle, quhair it remanit ay quhill thir dayis. And be caus this last victorie of Pichtis happinnit nocht far fra Scone, he ordainit the said chier to remane perpetuallie in the said abbay; and all Scottis kyngis to resaue thair diademe in the samyn."*

Although we can have little dependence on the testimony of Boece, when unsupported by other writers, it is by no means unlikely that he is worthy of credit as to the fact of Scone being a royal seat in this early age, as we have unquestionable evidence that it enjoyed this honour about half a century afterwards. This is left beyond a doubt, by the testimony of the ancient Pictish Chronicle, a monument of antiquity universally admitted as of the highest authority. It is expressed in the following language.

"In his sixth year, [corresponding with A. D. 909,] Constantine the king, and Kellach the bishop, solemnly vowed, conjunctly with the Scots, on the Hill of Credulity, near the royal city of Scone, that they would strictly adhere to the laws, and to the discipline of

* Croniklis of Scotland, B. x. c. 10. 12. Buchanan. Hist. Lib. vi. c. 3. See also above, p. 3, 4, article *Dunstaffnage*.

faith, and the rights of the churches and of the gospel. Henceforth, the hill deserved the name of the Hill of Credulity.*

There can be no doubt that this is the same mount which was afterwards called the Moothill, or Motehill, near Scone. "The Hill of Credulity" was an honourable, instead of being a contemptuous, designation. For the Lat. word *credulitas*, which in the Augustan age was used solely to denote light belief, in the course of two or three centuries came to signify a "profession of the Christian faith, or rather this faith itself."† This designation, therefore, was equivalent to "The Hill of the Profession of the Faith."

The learned and accurate Sir James Dalrymple says, that Kenneth Macalpin, in consequence of "the fatal overthrow of King Drusken, in a battle upon Tay near Scoon,—thereafter united both kingdoms; and was the first Scottish king who was crowned at Scoon, and brought the marble chair from that place to Argile-shire."‡

The Irish records not only agree with the accounts of our ancient writers concerning this celebrated chair, but ascribe to it still higher honours than our own credulous ancestors seem ever to have done. The learned Toland was never suspected of being prone to credulity; yet he seems to entertain no doubt as to the fact of the great antiquity of this veneration in our neighbouring island. It may not be unacceptable to the reader to introduce his language on this subject; as the work referred to is not in every one's hands.

"Nor will I dwell longer here—on the *Fatal Stone*, so call'd, on

* In vi. an. Constantinus, et Cellachus episcopus, leges, disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum, evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in Colle Credulitatis, prope regali civitate *Scoon*, devoverunt custodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc nomen meruit, i. e. Collis Credulitatis.—Chronicon Pictorum, written about the year 1020. Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. App. p. 493. Innes's Critical Essay, p. 588, App. 785.

† *Credulitas*, Professio fidei Christianæ, vel potius fides ipsa: Gall. *Croyance*.—Du Cange. Cyprian is the first authority he gives for this use of the term. *Vide Regiam Majestatem*, Leg. Malcolm, c. 1; and Skene, Verb. Signif. vo. *Mote*.

‡ Collections, p. 89.

which the supreme kings of Ireland us'd to be inaugurated in times of heathenism on the hill of *Tarah*;* and which, being inclos'd in a wooden chair, was thought to emit a sound under the rightful candidate (a thing easily manag'd by the Druids), but to be mute under a man of none or a bad title, that is, one who was not for the turn of those priests. Every one has read of Memnon's vocal statue in Egypt. This fatal stone was superstitiously sent to confirm the Irish colony in the north of Great Britain, where it continu'd as the coronation-seat of the Scottish kings, even since christianity; till, in the year 1300, Edward the first of England brought it from Scone, placing it under the coronation-chair at Westminster: and there it still continues, the ancientest respected monument in the world.—“The true names of the stone are *Laig-fail*,† or *the fatal stone*, and *Cloch na cineamhna*, or *the stone of fortune*: both of them from a persuasion the antient Irish had, that, in what country soever this stone remain'd, there one of their blood was to reign.—The Irish pretend to have memoirs concerning it for above 2000 years: nay Ireland itself is sometimes, from this stone, by the poets, call'd *Inis-fail*. But how soon they began to use it, or whence they had it, lyes altogether in the dark. What's certain is, that after having long continued at Tarah, it was, for the purpose I have mentioned, sent to Fergus, the first actual king of Scots; and that it lay in Argile (the celebrated seat of the Scots in Britain) till, about the year of Christ 842, that Keneth the 2d, the son of Alpin, having enlarg'd his bord-

* “*Teamhuir*, or in the oblique cases *Teamhra*, whence corruptly *Taragh*, or *Tarah*.” N. This evidently exhibits the same name with *Temorah*, so much celebrated, as the Irish capital, in the Poems of Ossian.

† Harris calls it *Liafail*.—Antiq. of Ireland, c. i. p. 10. O'Brien gives this as two words, “*Lia fail*, the fatal stone otherwise called *Cloch na Cineamhna*, on which the Scottish kings were crowned.” He defines *Cinneamhuin*, “an ominous accident, or destiny; genit. *cinneamhna*.” Harris gives the same account as Toland of the great veneration in which this stone was held by the ancient Irish, on account of its miraculous virtues. Antiquities, *ut sup.* p. 10, 124. See also Ledwich's Antiq. of Irel. p. 308.

ers by the conquest of the Picts, transferr'd this stone, for the same purpose as before, to Scone."*

The same history is given of this "stone of power," and the same account of its supposed virtues, by a great number of Irish writers; as Keating,† Harris,‡ Ledwich,|| &c.

It may naturally enough be supposed, that, after the translation of this wonder-working stone to Scone, our princes should wish to be crowned here, if not from superstition, at least from policy; as knowing the powerful influence of traditionary belief, and of strict conformity to established forms, in securing and confirming allegiance, and the danger of affording a handle to any competitors, by the neglect of a rite sanctioned by custom. Hence it has been generally assumed as a fact, without historical proof in individual instances, that our kings were inaugurated here. Of such political importance did this circumstance seem to the wise Robert I., that he submitted to a double coronation at Scone; first, on the 27th of March 1306, and again, on the 29th of the same month, by Isabella, Countess of Buchan, wife of the Earl of Fife, who, because her husband favoured the pretensions of the King of England, repaired to Scone for this purpose, as asserting the privileges of her ancestors, who claimed the right of crowning the kings of Scotland.¶

John Baliol had here been invested with that crown, which he meanly condescended to wear as the vassal of Edward I. Hardyng attests the fact.

————— Kyng John was then cround,
That Balioll hight, that knowen was full ryfe,
In the mynster of Skone, within Scotland ground,
Syttynge vpon the regall stone full sound,
As all the kynges there vsed had afore.

CHRONICLE, p. 293.

* Toland's History of the Druids, pp. 150-152, edit. 1814.

† General History of Ireland, i. 3, 4, 70-72.

|| Ledwich's Antiq. p. 308.

‡ Antiq. of Ireland, p. 10, 124.

¶ Hailes' Annals, ii. 1, 2.

Afterwards, however, he gives an odd account of the use to which Edward assigned this stone in the Abbey of Westminster.

And as he came homewarde by Skone awaye,
The regall there of Scotlande then he brought,
And sent it forth to Westmynster for ay,
To be there in a cheire clenely wrought,
For a masse preaste to sytte in when he ought.

Ibid. p. 296.

I should have liked that this old English chronicler had told us, when it became a mass-priest to take his seat on the chair of royalty. He mentions a circumstance that seems to have been quite unknown, both to our Scottish and to Irish historians.

This stone was called the regall of Scotlande,
On which the Scottish kynges wer *brechlesse set*
At their coronemente, as I canne vnderstande :
For holynes of it, so [did thei] of debte.

Ibid. p. 87.

This would not be a great hardship for a Scottish prince, could we believe the silly fancy of this age, that what is now called the Highland dress was that of our forefathers. But how could an English mass-priest reconcile himself to the idea that it was his debt, or *duty*, to sit in the same manner? His conviction of the *holynes* of this seat would not, I suspect, produce so remarkable and mortifying an act of self-denial.

During the reign of Robert I. it was appointed that a parliament should be held at Scone, in March 1331.* This may have been prevented by his death. But his son David, and Joanna, the daughter of Edward III., were crowned at this place, on November 24th of this year.† Here also David held a parliament in the thirty-

* Robertson's Index, p. 29.

† Fordun, xiii. 21. Hailes' Ann. ii. 137.

ninth year of his reign.* Another was held at Scone by Robert II., March 2, 1372, in which some ordinances were made of considerable importance.†

It has been said, that "Malcolm IV. deemed Scone, as it had become the fixed place of the coronation of the Scottish kings, to be the metropolis of his kingdom;" denominating it, in his charter to the monastery there, the "*principal seat of his kingdom*."‡ But this language scarcely warrants the deduction. The term cannot well be viewed as signifying more than manor. This matter has been viewed in a different light by an earlier writer. "The kings of Scotland preceding James II.," he says, "were crowned at Scone, and resided at Perth, as the *metropolis* of the nation."|| Perth, (from which Scone is distant only two miles,) from its situation, nearly in the centre of Scotland, from its being, as it were, the key to the Highlands, and, at the same time, in the immediate vicinity of Abernethy, which had been the metropolis of the Pictish kingdom, seemed to have a special claim to this distinction: for the sovereign, by choosing this as the seat of government, would have it more in his power to manage the different elements of which his kingdom was composed, and which, we may well suppose, would not be thoroughly amalgamated for several ages, than had he resided on the south side of the Forth. Alexander I. was obviously partial to this vicinity. Malcolm IV. assembled his parliament at Perth.§ Here William the Lion resided during part of his reign: for he and his son Alexander, with the king's brother, the Earl of Huntington, narrowly escaped being drowned by an inundation of the river Tay, A. 1210. Boece, indeed, and, after him, Buchanan, say, that a son of the king, named John, actually perished on this occasion; and that the ancient city *Bertha*, situated at the confluence of Almond with Tay, was, on this account, completely de-

* Reg. Mag. Sig. p. 62, 197.

† Pinkerton's Hist. i. 13.

‡ Principalis sedes regni nostri. Chart. Scone. V. Caledonia, i. 776, 777.

|| Cant's edit. of the Muse's Threnody, i. 24.

§ Fordun, Scotichron. lib. viii. c. 4. Hailes' Annals, i. 106.

serted, and a new city founded by William, under the name of *Perth*. But this seems to be a mere fable. From the language of the *Scoti-chronicon*, we may safely conclude, that *Bertha* and *Perth* denoted the same town.* During the reign of David II., A. 1322, the parliament met at Perth;† and after the death of Robert II., A. 1406.‡ Of thirteen parliaments held by James I. twelve met at Perth.

Scone is scarcely less entitled to our regard in a religious, than in a civil, respect. It certainly was one of the earliest seats of Christianity in Scotland. "We may easily suppose," as Chalmers has remarked, "that when the *fatal stone* was transferred by Kenneth, the son of Alpin, from Argyle to Scone, a religious house would be established at this ancient metropolis. A Culdean church was here dedicated, in the earliest times, to the *Holy Trinity*, like other Culdean monasteries."||

Henry Adamson, the friend of Drummond of Hawthornden, in the amusing tour assigned to his friends Ruthven and Gall, when he makes them to pass by Scone, expresses himself as if he and his contemporaries had viewed the religious foundation as prior to the erection of any building that might be called a royal residence, as, indeed, eventually converted into a palace.

As we thus talk'd, our barge did sweetly pass
By Scone's fair palace, sometime abbay was;
Strange change, indeed! yet it is no new guyse,
Both spiritual lands, and men to temporize.

MUSE'S THRENODIE, i. p. 78.

It is possible, however, that all that he intended, was to refer to the fact, that, a few years before the time of his writing this poem, Scone had been erected into a temporal lordship; first in favour of the Earl

* Villam quoque, quæ olim dicebatur Bertha, nunc quoque Perth, &c. Fordun. lib. viii. c. 72.

† Fordun. lib. xiii. c. 22. Wyntoun, B. viii. c. 26.

‡ Wyntoun, B. ix. c. 26.

|| Caledonia, i. 438.

of Gowrie, and afterwards, A. 1604, in favour of Sir David Murray of Gospertie, a cadet of the family of Tullybardine.

Alexander I. owed nothing to the English clergy, as they had exerted themselves to the utmost to deprive the Scottish church of independence, by claiming the right of consecrating her bishops. It might, therefore, have been thought that he would have spurned the idea of any thing that bore the appearance of servile imitation of their ecclesiastical rites. But being a haughty, hot-headed, and self-willed man, like many of this character, his rivalry was excited by the very circumstance that ought to have been a check to it; and his injured pride seems to have stimulated him to endeavour to render the external aspect of religion as imposing on the senses, as, from his intercourse with England, he found it to be there. Like an early king, who, with a vassal-spirit, went to meet another at Damascus, he was so captivated with the fashion of the altar which he saw there, that he "sent the pattern of it" to his own country, that another might be made "according to all the workmanship thereof."* Henceforth he seems to have been quite disgusted at the simplicity of the Culdean worship and institutions. Accordingly, as we learn from that invaluable monument of antiquity, the Chronicle of Mailros, that, in the year 1115, "the church of Scone was delivered up to canons,"† we find its testimony confirmed by Alexander's charter, viewed as of the same date. In this, he, and Sibilla his queen, "from their desire to *adorn* the house of the Lord, and to *exalt* his habitation, give and deliver up the church in Scone, which is dedicated in honour of the *Holy Trinity*, to God, and St. Mary, and St. Michael, and St. John, and St. Lawrence, and St. Augustine; and, for the extension and exaltation of the worship and honour of God," they are pleased to apply to Adelwald, prior of the church of St Oswald, "for clergy of those who are Canons by profession," &c. It is worthy of remark, that all

* 2 Kings xvi. 10, 11.

† Chron. p. 164.

this is said to be done “in the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity.”

When reflecting on this singular species of reform, one cannot wonder that the zeal of good Sir James Dalrymple is excited to an unusual pitch. “It appeareth,” he says, “that the antient church of Scone was dedicated to the *Holy Trinity*; but when it comes to be erected into a priory, after the Romish form, it was also dedicate to St. Mary, &c.—the host of heaven joyned with the *Holy Trinity*.” But the good man did not advert to the full extent of the impiety: for, as it would appear that all the churches of the Culdees were dedicated “to the Holy Trinity, as a proclamation of the unity of the object of their worship, and of the exclusion of every creature, the king and queen do not join the Romish idols with the *Trinity*; but seem resolved henceforth to banish the very term from any consecration, as if it savoured too much of primitive simplicity, and substitute that of God, in conjunction with the names of five mere creatures, as if they wished a double Trinity of their own invention; nay, express themselves as if a dedication to the *Holy Trinity* were not a dedication to *God himself*.”*

“Here,” he adds, “is a new order of ecclesiasticks, and a new form of worship, introduced, upon pretence of inlarging and exalting the worship and honour of God, as if it had not been established formerly in purity at *Scone*; and Chanoines Regular of St. Austine, serving God *by their profession*, brought from England, as if the Scots and their predecessors, before this time, had not been servants of God after the right rule, and their churches famous for professing the true religion; or that they had not served God canonically, albeit accord-

* In nomine Sanctæ et Individue Trinitatis, que unus Deus adoratur, et colitur, et creditur;—concedimus et tradimus *ipsi Deo*, et Sancte Marie, &c. Ad *Dei* igitur cultum—placuit nobis, clericos Canonicos professione, *Deo* famulantes,—ad serviendum *Deo* canonice,—requirere, &c. Regist. Scon. Dalrymple’s Coll. p. 371, 372.

ing to the *canon* of the Holy Scriptures, because not according to the rule of St. Austine." *

In the year 1130, Matildis, or Matilda, the wife of David I., was buried at Scone.† There is no evidence that she had previously resided here. Whether this had been honoured as the place of her interment, from the superior sanctity of the soil, in consequence of its new consecration by Alexander I., I cannot pretend to say.

Hardyng informs us, that, after the deposition of John Baliol, the chancellor and treasurer, whom he had appointed for Scotland, had their residence here.

His chaunceler at Skone, and tresorer,
Abyding wer, to rule the land full clere.

CHRONICLE, p. 296.

It is not certain that much of the palace remained at the time when the coronation of our kings took place in the chapel of the monastery. Nor is it ascertained, whether the present large and elegant house stands on the site of the old monastery or palace. This occupies the same ground with that which preceded it; having been erected by the Earl of Mansfield, who represents the ancient family of Stormont. The most of the walls were taken down and rebuilt; and a new front has been given to the edifice, extending 240 feet in length. The great gallery, in former times the scene of royal festivity, has retained its place; with this difference, that its length is reduced from 167 to 150 feet. It is most elegantly finished in the Gothic stile, with painted windows, and different recesses. One end of it is furnished with a large and very fine organ. No visitor can for a moment suppose, that its appearance is not now more splendid than it ever was when occupied by the sovereigns of Caledonia.

Behind this noble fabric is the *Mausoleum*, originally an aisle belonging to the parish-church, and erected by David, the first Lord

* Dalr. Coll. p. 374, 375.

† Fordun. lib. v. c. 43.

Scone, afterwards created Viscount of Stormont. This was preserved as a family cemetery, when the church was removed. Here there is a fine marble statue of this nobleman, as large as the life. He appears kneeling on a cushion, at an altar, with a book lying open before him, and the palms of his hands joined, as expressive of his being engaged in prayer. On each side of him stands a man in armour, the one said to be the Marquis of Tullibardine, the other the Earl Marischal. This groupe acquires peculiar interest, from the account given, by the family, of the reason of its being erected. These two, who appear, one on each side of Lord Scone, were his most intimate friends, as they had formerly been of each other; but, unhappily, a bitter feud had taken place between them. Lord Scone, after having in vain used every argument which his wisdom and affection could suggest, in order to effect a reconciliation, perceiving that they were about to imbrue their hands in one another's blood, rushed in between them, and fell on his knees, and earnestly intreated that He, who had the hearts of all men in his hand, would do that for his beloved friends, which he saw no human power could accomplish,—that he would mollify their hearts, and change the torrent of murderous passion into such tender love as had formerly distinguished them. According to the account received by his descendants, no sooner had he risen from his knees, than his two friends, while their eyes streamed with tears, threw themselves into each other's arms in the most affectionate embraces. He, it is said, ordered this monument to be erected as a perpetual memorial to his posterity, both of the obligation, and of the success, of prayer.

I am assured, on what would seem sufficient authority, that there is no such title as that of “hereditary keeper of the palace of Scone.”

For a variety of other particulars regarding this ancient seat of royalty, and the vicinity, I beg leave to refer the reader to what I have formerly written, in my Illustrations of Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*.*

* P. 38—40.

THE REQUISITES OF A GOOD PAPER FOR THE PRESS



...of the church was removed. Here there
was a table with a book lying open be-
fore it, as if it were a man in ar-
mour, the other the Earl
... from the account
... These two, who
... intimate friends,
... a bitter feud
... in vain
... suggest, in
... about to
... between them,
... who had the
... beloved friends,
... that he would
... the current of murderous passion in-
... distinguished them. According
... received by his descendants, no sooner had he risen
... knees, than his two friends, while their eyes streamed with
... throw themselves into each other's arms in the most affectionate
embraces. He, it is said, ordered this monument to be erected as a
perpetual memorial to his posterity, both of the obligation, and of the
success, of prayer.

I am assured, on what would seem a reliable authority, that there
is no such title as that of "Duke of Albany" in the family of Scorne."

For a variety of other particulars respecting the ancient seat of
royalty, and the vicinity, I beg to refer to what I have
formerly written, in my *Illustrations of the History of Scotland*.*



Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

GARBHIC CASTLE.
THE RESIDENCE OF KING ROBERT THE BRUCE.

Carrick.

THERE is not a true-born Scotsman, whose heart does not feel a patriotic glow at the mention of the name of BRUCE. It brings to his recollection that noble but arduous struggle, which the first prince, who bore this name, made, at the same time, for the independence of his crown, and for the liberties of his country. It recalls to view, as if the scene were yet present, the almost unparalleled hardships and privations that he so long sustained,—the countless perils to which he was subjected, both from open hostility and from lurking treason,—and the many gallant deeds that he achieved, at times single-handed,—ere he was generally recognised as the rightful sovereign of a people, whose spirit had been broken by discord, depressed by defeats, and debased by the fatal and permanent influence of treachery and tyranny.

Cold-hearted would the man be, who, were they pointed out to him, could look with indifference on the halls which that princely family had graced for several generations, and which received their highest interest, as having been brightened by the early emanations of that mind that was destined to break forth at length with such distinguished lustre. But we have to regret that this gratification has not been reserved for us; and that little more can now be told, concerning this interesting scene, than what Virgil puts in the mouth of his hero in regard to his lamented city. We can merely look on the plains

——— *Ubi Troja fuit.*

ÆN. lib. iii. v. 11.

For here little room is left, either for topographical description, or for antiquarian research ; as if the family motto were written on the very site of its ancient grandeur.

Turnberry Point, in the parish of Kirk-Oswald, Ayrshire, is a rock, projecting into the sea, the top of which is about eighteen feet above high-water mark. On this rock was built the castle. In height, towards the sea, about twenty-five feet of the wall are still standing ; but only about four feet on the land side. It had extended sixty feet in length, and forty-five in breadth. The summit of the ruin still presents a majestic appearance from the sea.* The site of the castle includes about three-fourths of a Scotch acre.

It appears to have been reared on two principal sections of the rock, between which a cave intervenes, the one half being naturally formed by the rock itself, while the other has been the effect of art. At high water, this was filled by the sea to the depth of several feet. At the northern extremity, there has been another cave, the sides of which were formed by the rocks, and overarched by them, to the height of forty feet, extending eighteen in breadth. This has been used for entrance or egress by sea ; as, by this opening, a boat could, at high water, make its way into the centre of the castle. It has been defended, on the land side, by a moat, which is now nearly filled up. One cannot look on these melancholy vestiges of former greatness, without recollecting the beautiful language of Ossian, in the description given of the ruins of another fortress on the same firth. " I have seen the walls of Balclutha, but they were desolate. The fire had resounded in the halls : and the voice of the people is heard no more. The stream of Clutha was removed from its place, by the fall of the walls. The thistle shook, there, its lonely head : the moss whistled to the wind. The fox looked out from the windows : the rank grass of the wall waved round its head. Desolate is the dwelling of Moina : silence is in the house of her fathers.†

* Lord of the Isles, p. 393, 394.

† Carthon, Ossian's Poems, i. 82.

As the rocks, which form the site of this fortress, are very bold and rugged, the general appearance of the coast is in unison: immense masses of rock, extending a great way into the sea, and in rough weather causing, by their resistance, such a swell, that the angry waves seem to menace destruction to the cliffs against which they lash; and, rushing into their hollow caverns, produce a noise resembling the loudest thunder.

This castle has been built of hewn stone, and is remarkable for the very strong cement that has been used in building it. The situation is most delightful, having a full prospect of the whole Frith of Clyde. This, it has been remarked, is "land-locked," as it were, on all sides, by the coast of Cunningham, island of Bute, island of Arran, Kintyre, the coast of Ireland, and the coast in the parishes of Kirkum, Ballantrae, Colmonel, and Girvan." The scene, from the variations in height, and diversified appearance of these coasts, with the many small islands interspersed, is highly pleasing. "What adds to the beauty and grandeur of the prospect, is the noble rock of Ailsa, set down in the middle of the frith,—about fifteen miles from the shore. The castle, on the land side, looks over a rich plain of above six hundred acres, bounded by the hills, which rise in a beautiful amphitheatre."* This plain formed the castle park. Nearly four hundred and sixty acres of it were inclosed with stone, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and denominated the Park of Turnberry.†

This ancient fortress is sometimes called the Palace of Carrick, and, at other times, that of Turnberry. It seems to have received the former name, from its being the residence of Duncan, the son of Gilbert, to whom William the Lion, A. 1186, had confirmed the grant of the district of Carrick, (one of the three divisions of this extensive county,) who was also created earl under this designation. Turnberry appears to have been more strictly the local name. This, accord-

* Stat. Acc. x. 476. 493.

† Ibid. p. 485.

ing to Fordun, was in use as early as the year 1270. For he informs us that Martha, or, as some name her, Margaret, Countess of Carrick in her own right, happening to meet Robert Bruce, son of Robert Lord of Annandale and Cleveland, while he was hunting in her domains, became enamoured of him, and, with some degree of constraint, led him to her castle of *Turnbiri*, where, in a few days, they were clandestinely married: at which Alexander III. was so much incensed, that he took possession of the castle and all her lands, because she had married without his consent.* These, however, he afterwards restored. Thus Bruce obtained the title of Earl of Carrick, in right of his lady, who was the daughter of Neill, the second who bore this title, and great-grandson of Fergus, Lord of Galloway.† It was undoubtedly because of the proximity of situation, that Duncan, the first Earl of Carrick, in the year 1244, founded and endowed the well-known Abbey of Crossraguell,‡ which was only two miles distant from Turnberry.

As the parish of Kirk-Oswald had borrowed its name from the church which had been here erected in memory of the pious Oswald, that Northumbrian king who received his Christian education in Icolmkill; the church, being built within the manor of Turnberry, was, for several centuries, denominated Kirk-Oswald of Turnberry, and, in Latin charters, *Ecclesia Sancti Oswaldi de Turnberry*. Earl Duncan granted the church of St. Oswald, with its lands and tithes, to the monks of Paisley, on condition, as would appear, that they should establish a monastery of their order in Carrick. As they did not fulfil the condition of the grant, Duncan, not long before his death, founded the monastery of Crossraguell for Cluniac monks; and transferred the church of St. Oswald of Turnberry from the monks of

* *Secum militem, quamvis minime volentem, versus Turnbiri ducebat suum castrum.*—*Castrum cepit de Turnbiri*, Scotichron. lib. x. cap. 29.

† Crawford's Peerage, p. 70. Douglas's Peerage, ii. 315. Additional Case, Countess of Sutherland, chap. v. p. 19.

‡ Chron. Mailros, p. 242. Dalrymple's Coll. p. 186.

Paisley to those of Crossraguell. To these monks this grant was confirmed by Robert I., and afterwards by a charter of Robert III., A. 1404.

The name of the district seems to have had a Gaelic origin, and may have originated from *Carraig*, a rock, as characteristic of its appearance as viewed from the sea.

Boece, with his usual fertility of imagination, has discovered, in this district, a large city, totally unknown to every other historian. Bellenden has abridged his account of it.* “In Carrick wes sum time ane riche cieté vnder the same name, quhais ruynus wallis schawis the gret magnificence thair of.” Boece calls the city *Carettonium*; but acknowledges his hesitation whether this was the origin of the name Carrick or not.

The origin of the name of *Turnberry* is equally uncertain with that of the district. We have seen that the orthography of Fordun is *Turnbiri*. D. M'Pherson has given that of Turnbyres, referring to a charter of Edward [Bruce], King of Ireland, and Earl of Carrick.† But this is undoubtedly an error; for in an original deed, A. 1286, to be afterwards referred to, it is written *Turnebyrie*.‡ It appears in two different forms, in the Great Chamberlain's Accounts, in one page; twice in that of *Tornbery*, and also as *Turnbyrri*.|| It has great appearance of having had a Gothic origin, especially as the termination is the same with that which occurs so frequently in the local names left by the Anglo-Saxons; from *beorg*, *berg*, *byrig*, &c., denoting a mount, a rock, a fortress, or a city. Fancy might trace the first syllable to A. S. *Torn*, wrath, as alluding to the fury of the elements on this coast during a great part of the year; or q. *toren*, lace-

* Supra Gallovidiam Caricta sita est, Silurie quondam pars quædam, quæ dicta ne sit a Carrettonio, numerosissima olim civitate, cujus ad huc ruinæ edium ostendunt magnificentiam: an ab alia aliqua re haud satis constat. Scot. Regn. Descript. c. 6. fol. 6. b.

† Geogr. Illustr. vo. *Turnberry*.

‡ Caledonia, iii. 532, 533.

|| Vol. i. p. 162.

ratus, the rock, which forms the site of this castle, being *divided*. In Pont's map I observe a place, very near Turnberry, called *Tornbrock*.

There is considerable plausibility, however, in Chalmers's conjecture, that *Turnberry-head*, on the coast of Carrick, is a corruption of *Truyn-berry*; as British *Trwyn* denotes a point, a nose, a snout, and is used, in composition, in the names given to different points of land in Wales. In like manner we have the *Truyn*, or redundantly the *Troon-point*, on the coast of Kyle, Ayrshire.* This is, indeed, the British term, corresponding with that of Gothic origination, *Snuke*, applied not only to *Turnberry* itself, but to the promontory of Dunnoter, and to that of the *Mull* of Galloway. V. SNUK, Etymol. Dict. It is rather unaccountable, however, that this word should preserve the original sound, not only in Wales, but in the name of a place on the very same coast, so near Turnberry as is the *Troon*.

Grose, in his description of this castle, has quoted Mr. Abbercrombie, (for thus he writes the name,) as saying that this "is perhaps the place called by Ptolomee *Perigonium*, of a Greek origination, importing round the corner, and suiting the English designation of Turnbury."—"To confirme this conjecture," he adds, "a tradition among the people there will not a little induce, viz. that near to this very castle there was, of old, a towne of the same name, of which there is no vestige at present to be seen, but that they perceive some remainders of a causeway, and that the reason for this may be, the neighbourhood of the port of the greatest resort in all that coast, at which the first possessors had landed from Ireland, and so might have fixed their habitations near to it," &c.†

This extract seems to have been taken from M'Farlane's Geographical Collections, relating to Scotland, vol. ii. p. 11, a MS. in the Advocates' Library, written A. 1749. There the name of the original writer is given as Mr. *Abercrummie*, "minister at Maybole." He lived most probably during the reign of Charles II. The writer must

* Caledonia, i. 37.

† Grose's Antiq. of Scotland, ii. 108.

have believed that the supposed Irish settlers here, even in a pretty early period, were much better Greek scholars than any of their successors. This Greek word, however, has had a singular fate in the hands of our writers: for we have already seen it assume the form of *Berigonium*, in its pilgrimage to the western coast of Argyle;* and now, when restored to its proper station, it appears as *Perigonium*. In the MS. referred to, however, instead of *Perigonium*, the name is *Rerigonium*. In my edition of Ptolemy, by Mercator and Montanus, Franc. 1605, the name is *Περίγονιος κόλπος*.

This writer, in his slight account of the locality, says, that “the ruins of the ancient castle of Turnberry” are “upon the northern poynt of that rockie angle, that turns about towards Girvan.” In Pont’s map, there is a slight memorial of the illustrious family that once possessed this country, in *Brucetoun Burn*, which issues from a small lake scarcely three miles distant from the castle.

In another MS. we have the following curious statement:—

“No monuments of batells to be seen in this countrey, except nerr the villidge of ancient Turneburrey, alonge the coste, betwix a litell promontorey and the sea. Ther is 3 werey grate heapes of stonnes, callid wulgarley *the Kernes of Blackinney*, being the name of the vilage and ground. At the suthermost of thir 3. Cairnes ar ther 13. grete tale [tall] stonnes, standing vpright in a perfyte circkle, aboute some 3. ells ane distaunt from ane other, with a grate heighe stonne in the midle, wich (*sic*) is werily esteemid be the most learned inhabitants to be the bvriall place of King *Caractacus*; being most probable, in so far as Hector Boetius sayes, that the king wes interríd in Carricke, quherein he remained during the most pairt of his rainge [reign]; and that from him this countrey wes named *Carricke*; and that thir stonnes, his monument, ar as yet standing nerr the toune of *Turnberrey*, wich wes questionles the ancient *Carrictonium*. This same conjecture is so muche the more probable in that, that King Galdus, that

* See above, p. 14.

succedit him, (I meane Carractake,) his buriall place is yet knawin, within 3. mylles to the toune of *Vigtoune*, in Galloway, wich is after the same forme, being 19. stonnes in compas, and 3. in the midle, wich then hes beine the most honorable forme of buriall, befor churches and church yairds wer designed places of sepulture.

“ Ther is found and obserued this yeir 1632, within a myle to the Castle of *Turnburrey*, some sandey landes, newly discouered, wich formerly had beine ouerblouen. Yet the new discouery reaches, in the ançient ground, dounwards above ane elle and a halffe, as the ther standinge knowes cleirly demonstrate, exposing to the beholders numbers of coffins neatly hewin of five stonnes, with oute couer or botome, being 7. footte longe, and 3. vyde, all laying east and weste, with an equall proportione of distance ane from ane vther.”*

“ This was the scene,” it has been remarked, “ on the 20th of September 1286, of the first association of nobles, of which the Scottish history knows any thing. They assembled on that occasion, and associated for supporting the title of the competitor, Bruce, to the crown.”† This was the grandfather of Robert I.

According to Dugdale, it was at “ Turnebyrie, in Carryk,” 20th September 1286, that a solemn compact was entered into between “ Robert, the competitor with Baliol, for the throne of Scotland, designed Robert Brus, Lord of Annandale, with his son Robert Brus, Earl of Carryk, and his brother-in-law Thomas de Clare, Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, James Stuard of Scotland, with several other Scottish nobles, to stand by each other, saving their allegiance to the King of England, and fidelity to *him*, who should gain the kingdom of Scotland, by right of blood, from King Alexander, then lately deceased.”‡ The design of this, it has been said, was to exclude the infant Queen Margaret. Mr. Chalmers assigns a different reason. But the deed,

* Sir James Balfour's Collections, with Additions by Sir Robert Sibbald, No. 2. *Carricke*, MS. Advocates' Library.

† Caledonia, iii. 451.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, i. 216.

which seems to be the only voucher for this meeting of these nobles, assigns no specific reason for their association for mutual adherence.

It would seem, from Henry the Minstrel's narration, that there was a general belief, in his time, that Wallace had assaulted and carried the Castle of Turnberry.

In Carrik syne thai bownyt¹ thaim to rid;²
 Haistit thaim nocht, bot sobyrlly couth fair
 Till *Townberry*; thar captane was at Ayr
 With lord Persie, to tak his consaill haill.
 Syne fyrd³ the yett,⁴ na succour mycht awaill.⁵
 A prest⁶ thar was, and gentill wemen with in,
 Quhilk for the fyr maid hiddewis noyis and dyn.
 "Mercy," thai cryit, "for him that deit on tré!"⁷
 Wallace gert slaik the fyr, and leit thaim be.
 To mak defens na ma⁸ was lewynt⁹ thar:
 He thaim commaund out off the land to far.¹⁰

WALLACE, B. vi. ver. 834.

This expedition, although I do not find it particularly mentioned by any historical writer, might take place, when Wallace and his coadjutors punished the inhabitants of Galloway for their adherence to the King of England and the Cumins.*

We know nothing further of this interesting place till the year 1306, when King Robert made an attempt to make himself master of it. After repeated defeats, and almost unparalleled hardships,† he, with a

¹ Made ready.

² Ride.

³ Fired.

⁴ Gate.

⁵ Avail.

⁶ Priest.

⁷ Died on the cross.

⁸ No more.

⁹ Left.

¹⁰ Go.

* *Vide* Arnold. Blair Relat. p. 5. 27.

† Of these Boece has given a graphic description, which I persuade myself will not be uninteresting to the reader in the simple language of good old Bellenden. "Thus was King Robert brocht to sic misery, that he was sumtyme nakit and hungry but meit or drink, saif only watter & ruttis of herbis; & thocht he knew weil the slauchter of his brothir, [brethir?] with al othir afflictionis done in perdition of hym and his freindis, yit he had sic excellent fortitude in al aduersite, that na thing mycht brek his inuincible curage.

few of his adherents, concealed himself, during several months, in the small island of Rauchrin, or Rachlin, on the north-east of Ireland. Having landed in Arran, he got possession of the Castle of Brodick, or Brathwick. It being thought by some that he was dead; lest his friends should be completely overpowered or dispirited, it appeared necessary for him to make an exertion, however inadequate his present means were, for the overthrow of his enemies. He determined, therefore, to send a trusty messenger across the frith, towards Turnberry, to learn the state of his friends, of those especially whom he might consider as his feudal vassals. It was agreed between him and his deputy, that if there was any reasonable prospect of success, the latter should, on a certain day, kindle a beacon on the shore, near the castle, as this would be distinctly seen from the coast of Arran. The light was seen at the time appointed; and Bruce, with his slender band, passed over without delay. On his arrival, he found that the fire had been kindled without any agency on the part of his messenger,* who earnestly entreated that the king would return, because his

For he was sa accustomit with euery truble & weiris in his youthe, that he curit nocht to sleip on the cald erd, nor to drink watter in steid of aill or wyne. Attoure ane thing is that apperis to have cumyn be myracle & grace of God, how beit his freindis war neir all vterly distroyit. He ceissit neur to haue ferme esperance symtyme to recouer his realme & lyberte of his pepyl."—CRONIKLIS OF SCOTLAND, B. xiv. c. 8.

* "It is still generally reported, and religiously believed by many, that this fire was really the work of supernatural power, unassisted by the hand of any mortal being; and it is said, that, for several centuries, the flame rose yearly, on the same hour of the same night of the year, on which the king first saw it from the turrets of Brodick Castle; and some go so far as to say, that if the exact time were known, it would be still seen."—The place where the fire is said to have appeared, "has been called the *Bogle's Brae*, beyond the remembrance of man."—LORD OF THE ISLES, *Notes*, p. 392.

To the vulgar tradition, the author of this beautiful poem has referred:—

Now ask you whence that wond'rous light,
Whose fairy glow beguiled their sight?—
It ne'er was known—yet grey-hair'd eld
A superstitious credence held,
That never did a mortal hand
Wake its broad glare on Carrick strand, &c.

castle was in possession of the Lord Percy, who, with about three hundred men under him, kept the surrounding country in complete subjection.

The king having asked the advice of his friends, his brother, the impetuous Edward, so firmly declared his own resolution, that there was no further hesitation as to the only course that remained for them.

Schyr Edward fryst answert thar to,
Hys brodyr that wes swa hardy,
And said, " I say yow sekyrly
Thar sall na perell, that may be,
Dryve me eftsonys to the se.
Myne auentur her tak will I,
Quhethir it be esfull or angry."

The answer of the king follows, expressing his resolution on no account whatsoever to separate from Edward.

" Brothyr," he said, " sen thou will sua,
It is gud that we samyn ta
Disseise or ese, or payne or play,
Eftyr as God will ws purway."

THE BRUCE, B. iv. ver. 64.

In the neighbourhood of the castle, and, as would appear, for the accommodation of some of the numerous retainers of this powerful family, a pretty large village had been built. Now, it was appropriated to a very different purpose,—that of affording cantonments to those of the English troops who did not reside in the fortress. It appears, from Barbour, that nearly two hundred men were lodged here. These the king determined immediately to attack, ere any intelligence of his arrival should be communicated. Having done so, they were all put to the sword, except one named Makdowell,

That eschapyt, throw gret slycht,
And throw the myrknes off the nycht.

The noise of this action was distinctly heard in the castle by Percy and the soldiers who were still with him ; but none ventured to issue forth, uncertain of the number of the assailants. Bruce remained for three days in the village undisturbed, giving the spoil to his troops.

On this subject the generality of our historical writers have fallen into an error in point of fact, misled by the testimony of Boece. They have asserted, as would seem, from Robert's complete success in the town of Turnberry, that he at the same time made himself master of the castle. "When he came into Carrick," says Boece, "he took a certain castle, which belonged to him by paternal inheritance."* According to Bellenden, "he tuke the castell of Carrik, and slew all the Inglismen quhilkis wer fundin in it."† Bower, the continuator of Fordun, although he does not specify the name of the castle, could refer to no other, when giving a similar account.‡ Lesly has followed in the same tract ; || and also Buchanan.§ Patrick Gordon has, in like manner, assigned to his hero, not only the conquest of the town, but of the castle of Turnberry.

But still the Piercy did the castle hold,
Built on a rock impregnable it stands ;
Thrice fiercely he assaults, and thrice the bold
Northumbrian beats back his valiant bands :

* In Carictam igitur ubi venisset, castellum quoddam quod patria hereditate ejus fuerat *capit*, omnesque Anglos trucidat, spoliis militibus liberaliter partitis.—BOETH. HIST. L. xiv. fo. 311, a.

† CRONIKLIS, B. xiv. c. 8.

‡ Rediit ad comitatem de Carrik. Quò cum pervenit, statim unum de castris suis *conquisivit*, habitatores interfecit, castrum destruxit, et arma ac alia spolia inter suos divisit.—SCOTICHRON. L. xii. c. 12.

|| Cæsis Anglis, qui in castris Carictæ et Invernessi militabant, ipsa castra occupat.—DE REB. GESTIS, Lib. vii. p. 230.

§ In Carictam navigat. Ibi arcem, sui quidam patrimonii, sed a valido Anglorum præsidio infestam, inopinato adventu opprimit : et Anglis ad unum occisis.—HIST. Lib. viii. c. 30.

At last the valiant Piercy yield it would,
For want of victuals, in the prince's hands.

HISTORY OF THE VALIANT BRUCE, B. i. c. 6.

It could only be of the town that he meant to say, as in the argument of this chapter,—

—*Turnberry* he sacks, destroys, and burns.

For he afterwards clearly distinguishes the *town* from the *castle*, saying of the former,—

By force he enters at the first essay,
And to his army gives it as a prey.

Godscroft has fallen into the same mistake. “These,” he says of the king and his adherents, “sailed from thence into Carrick, where they tooke a castle of the king's proper inheritance.”* Abercromby says, that the Castle of Turnberry—“was luckily surpriz'd, the garrison put to the sword,” &c.† Maitland has strangely bungled the account of this descent: for, according to him, the king sent a small party from Cantire, who, landing in Carrick, surprised one of his castles, which when Lord Percy learned, he marched against them. Robert, receiving advice of this, “surprised him, killed a number of his men, took all his plate and baggage, and forced him to take refuge in a *neighbouring* castle.”‡

It might naturally occur, that after the success of his assault on the village of Turnberry, especially as the English shewed no inclination to attack him, King Robert would attempt to reduce his patrimonial castle. But, as we learn from Barbour, the most authentic voucher for the events of this period, that he did not make the attempt, we may conclude that, although he had foreseen the probability of success, in consequence of the garrison being reduced to one-third of

* Hist. of Douglas and Angus, p. 26.

† Mart. Atchievements, i. 579.

‡ Hist. of Scotland, i. 477.

their former number, he deemed it unadvisable to hazard the lives of those well-tried adherents, whose place he could not hope to supply; and still more so, as he very soon learned that he could have no dependance, for effectual support, on the inhabitants of the vicinity, even those who were his own vassals; and reasonably entertained the idea, from all that he knew of his enemies, that Percy would call to his aid all the adherents of the English usurpation that were within his reach. Barbour informs us, accordingly, that Bruce, finding that even those who were disposed to take part with him, were afraid to do so from their dread of the superior strength of his foes, betook himself to the higher ground, where his resistance might be more effectual. He

— Syne drew him till the hicht,
To stynt bettir his fayis micht.

THE BRUCE, B. iv. ver. 183.

Percy, however, was so much overawed by the prowess of the king, that although resolved to desert this charge, that promised so little ease or honour, he lay “lurking” in the castle “as in a den,” till he was assured that a thousand men were on their way, from the garrison at Ayr, for the defence of Turnberry.

“Some years after this,” it has been said, “we find that King Robert Bruce stormed the castle, still in possession of the English, routed and expelled the garrison, but at the expense of the destruction of the building.”*

This can apply only to his brother Edward, who, A. 1308, “assailed the various fastnesses of Galloway, expelled the English garrisons, and at length subdued the whole country.”† This corresponds with the account, given by Barbour, of what followed the battle on the Cree, in Galloway.

* Stat. Acc. x. 493.

† Lord Hailes’ Annals, 11. 25.

— In a yer sa werrayit he,
 That he wane qwynt that countré
 Till his brodirys pess, the king.—
 Threttene castellis with strenth he wan,
 And ourcome mony a mody man.

THE BRUCE, B. vii. ver. 191, &c.

Although Turnberry castle, from its strength, and the reluctance of the implacable enemies of our illustrious king to give up his patrimonial stronghold, might suffer much before it was taken, I can scarcely believe that it was entirely destroyed. It would appear, on the contrary, that, after it had received some necessary repairs, it was still habitable, and that its royal proprietor occasionally resided there. I can discover no direct proof that King Robert ever made it his residence after it was recovered from the English. In the *Comptum*, indeed, of the county of Carrick, for the year 1329, that in which King Robert died, and which had been settled after his death, the sum of £21. 17s. 11d. is allowed "for the expences of the King at Tornbery, together with the carriage of meal." This is distinguished from "the expences of our lord the King, now surviving, *qui nunc est*," (evidently David II.) "from the time that he was at Edinburgh, at the Parliament, for the settlement of the Peace."—"Four score and five pounds, &c. are assigned to the masons, carpenters, and various other workmen, for the work done by them, during two years, about the reparation, *facturam*, of the manor of Tornbery."* This settlement undoubtedly refers to the year immediately preceding. As Robert ratified the peace at Edinburgh, March 17, 1328,† the language of the *Comptum*, as to "the expences of the King at Tornberry," might be supposed to refer to him, and the phrase, *qui nunc est*, be viewed as marking the distinction between David and his father. But as David is first of all introduced here in the article, "for the expenses of the house of our lord the King, *dum fuit comes*,

* Great Chamberlain's Accounts, i. 162.

† Vide Kerr's Hist. of Robert I., ii. 449.

comes, while he was *Earl*," that is, heir-apparent, it seems to be preferable to understand the whole as regarding him. Thus, however, it is evident that Turnberry was inhabited, as a royal mansion, before the death of Robert.

Since the year 1398, the heir-apparent of the Scottish throne has always had the title of *Earl of Carrick*.*

John Steward is not only designed *Comes de Carryk*, but the first-born of King Robert II.† This can be no other than that prince who, on his accession, changed his name to Robert, and thence obtained the ludicrous sobriquet of *John Fairnyear*, i. e. "John of the last year," or "formerly John." David, the first-born of this King Robert, is designed *Comes de Carric*, A. 1397, when, with some others, nominated for settling disputes about the marches with Richard, "our adversary of England." This was that unfortunate prince who was afterwards starved to death by his inhuman uncle, who is named, in the same deed, as one of his associates, under the designation of *Robertus Comes de Fyf, Frere du Roy*.‡

The "lands and barony of Turneberrie" are mentioned as part of the hereditary property of the Earl of Cassilis, A. 1616.|| The Duke of Argyle is hereditary keeper of the palace of Carrick, as well as of those of Dunstaffnage and Dunoon. It may be viewed as a vestige of the ancient honours of this palace, although now in ruins, that one of the pursuivants, (*signiferi*,) employed in making royal proclamations, and in summoning those accused of treason, bears the name of *Carrik*.§

It appears, indeed, that so early as the year 1482-3, John, second Lord Kennedy, was so much in favour with James III., that he obtained a charter to himself and Elizabeth, Countess of Errol, his wife, of *the*

* *Vide* Macpherson's Geogr. Illustr. vo. *Carrik*.

† A. 1369, &c. Rymer. *Fœdera*, vi. 633 ; vii. 312.

‡ Ibid. viii. 17. 35. 45. See above, p. 31, 32.

|| Inquisit. Retorn. Ayr. No. 153. 559.

§ Acts of Parl. edit. 1814, vol. iii. 197. 207.

King's lands of Turnbery, &c. in Carrick. Gilbert, fourth Earl of Cassilis, had a charter of the lands and *castle* of Turnbery, to himself, and Margaret Lyon, his wife, A. 1574-5.*

Among the original Melrose charters are several of the old earls of Carrick. Their seals bear a winged griffin, but no armorial charge. There is an interesting one, by *Margeria Comitissa de Karrick*, and her husband, *R. de Brus, Comes de Karrick*. Both seals are entire, and identical,—only the countess's a great deal larger than her lord's. This Bruce's father, the competitor, bore the arms of Annandale, a saltier, with a *chief, plain*. Marjory and her husband bear the saltier and chief; but the latter charged with what might perhaps be considered as the Carrick griffin, though its wings are rather scanty,—and it is very like a lion passant.†

I have met with no direct evidence that Turnberry had the honour of giving birth to Robert I. The 11th of July 1274 is admitted to have been the day on which this event took place.‡ But the place does not appear to be mentioned by any ancient writer. "Ayrshire," Mr. Chalmers has said, "had the honour of giving birth to the illustrious restorer of the Scottish monarchy:"|| but he brings forward no proof in favour of his assertion.

Tradition, as we may afterwards see, gives the palm to Lochmaben. It seems, however, more natural to suppose that the countess would prefer her own hereditary castle as the place of her residence, especially in prospect of an event so deeply interesting to female feeling. As she married Bruce, the father of our king, A. 1271, although ejected from Turnberry in consequence of the displeasure of Alexander, it is not likely that this would continue till the time of the birth of her son, which did not take place till three years after; especially as the

* Douglas's Peerage, i. 328. 332.

† For this intelligence I am indebted to my friend Thomas Thomson, Esq. Deputy-Register, whose name needs only to be mentioned, to warrant the accuracy of any communication regarding our ancient records.

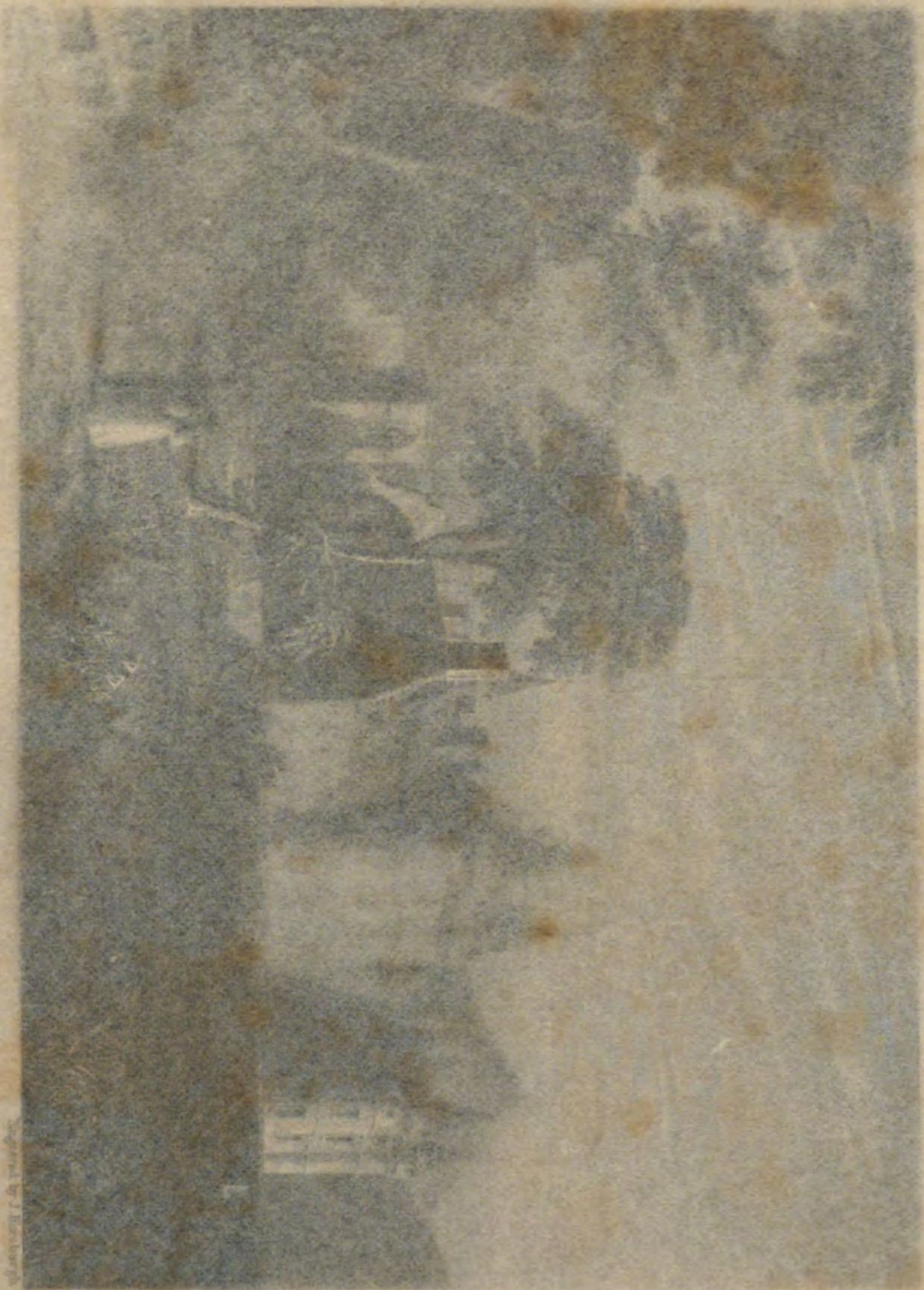
‡ Fordun, p. 29.

|| Caledonia, iii. 460.

offended sovereign was reconciled by the intercession of friends, and in consequence of the payment of the fine incurred by her feudal delinquency. Immediately on the restoration of her rights, she would undoubtedly take possession of her hereditary mansion, and view her honour as concerned in preferring it to any other residence.

There is a slender memorial of the ancient honours of this palace still retained in the designation of one of his Majesty's *signiferi*, or pursuivants, who is distinguished by the name of *Carrick*.*

* Acts Ja. VI. 1581, vol. iii. 197. 297.



HOLY CROSS COLLEGE

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offended woman was rewarded by the restoration of her rights, and in consequence of the payment of the fine imposed by her father's inquiry. Immediately on the restoration of her rights she would undoubtedly have resumed her hereditary residence, and never her husband's residence in preference to any other residence.

There is a number amongst the common people of this place who are in the habit of signing their names with the signature of one of the King's signers, or of the King's signers, who is distinguished by the name of the King.

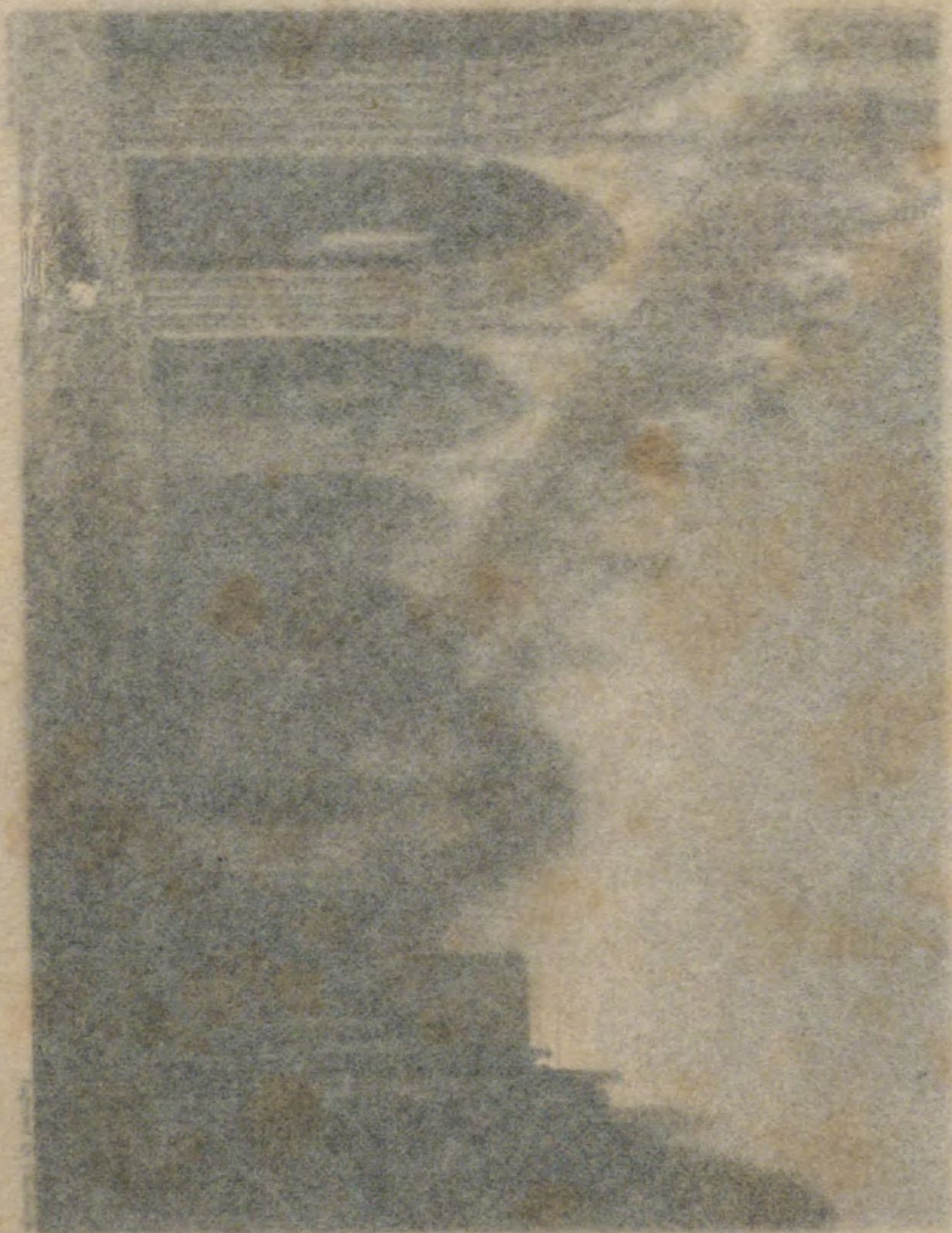
* This is the name of the King's signers.

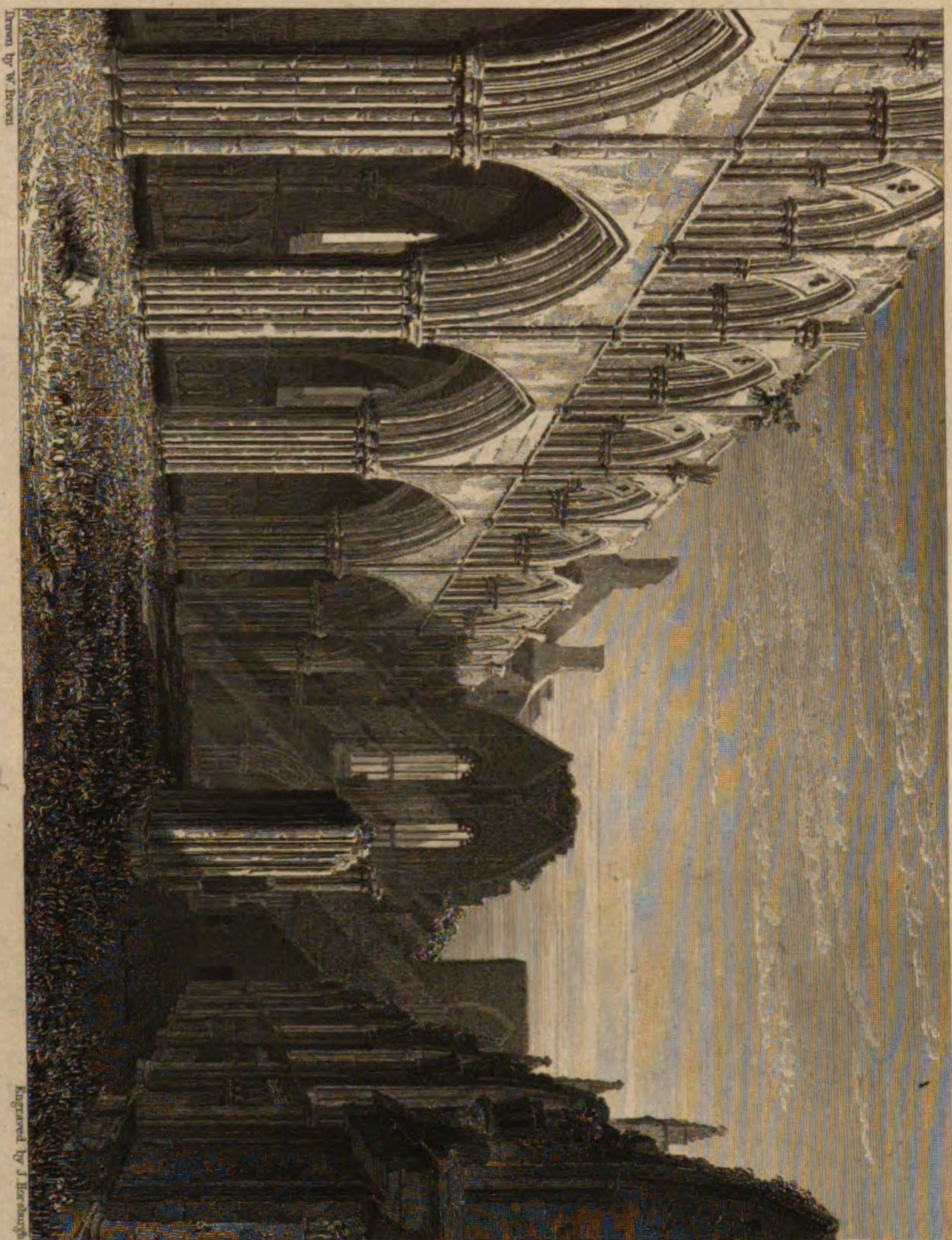


Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by J. Harbrough

HOLYROOD PALACE.





Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by J. B. B. B.

INTERIOR OF HOLYROOD CHAPEL.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY
JOHN HUTCHINGS
OF THE BOSTON BAR
IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I.
BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY
J. B. ALLEN, 1825.

Holproodhouse.

THE supposed sanctity of this place had, as in some other instances, chiefly constituted its patent for the subsequent possession of temporal honours of the highest order. It may reasonably be supposed, however, that its contiguity to the castle was an additional recommendation. This was one of the places selected by David I. as the seat of an abbey. This well-intentioned prince, having lived much with Henry I. of England, seems to have contracted, during his residence in that country, a partiality for its pompous monastic usages, to the disparagement of the more simple services which, for so many centuries, had been retained in his own. Here, accordingly, he introduced Canons Regular from England,—that very class of religious which his brother Alexander I. had thrust into Scone, to the exclusion of the Culdees;—as he expresses his design in the charter granted to them, that he might “decorate the house of God, and exalt his habitation.”*

This abbey was founded A. 1128. It was denominated *Monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Crag*,† “the Monastery of the Holy Rood,” or “Cross of the Craig.” The latter term respects its situation, as having been erected in the vicinity of that rocky precipice now called *Salisbury Craigs*. As *Crag*, or *Craig*, in the Celtic dialects, denotes a rough steep rock, *Salisbury*, it has been said, is from Anglo-Saxon

* *Vide Hist. Anc. Culdees*, p. 207, 208.

† *Fordun. lib. v. c. 48.*

Seles, “a desert, wilderness, or waste place,” and *burgh*, *bury*, &c. “a castle, town, or habitation.* But I can discover no vestige of *seles* in Anglo-Saxon. It has also been resolved into the form of *Serisbirg*, “the bare or withered hill.”† This, although not mentioned, must be from A. Sax. *saer* aridus, and *byrig* mons. *Saer-byrig* is, indeed, the old name of Sarum, in England, also *Saeresbyrig* and *Seresbyrig*,‡ afterwards softened down into *Salisbury*. From the occurrence of the same variation in the orthography of this word in England and in Scotland, the conjecture made by Arnot, as to the origin of this designation, seems preferable to any other. “After all the learned derivations,” he says, “of *Arthur’s Seat*, and *Salisbury Craigs*, we must be pardoned for supposing—the latter to take their name from the Earl of *Salisbury*, who, in the reign of Edward III., accompanied that prince in an expedition against the Scots. What makes the latter of these the more probable, is, that, in old authors, the name of these hills is indifferently spelled *Salisbury* and *Saresbury*; so is also the name of that lord.”||

The authentic orthography, corresponding with the established pronunciation of the country, is *Halyrudehouse*; for the modern name is an English translation. Thus, John Knox, speaking of the queen’s arrival from France, says; “Becaus the Palace of *Halyrudehous* was not throuchly put in ordour, (for hir cuming was more suddane then many luiked for,) sche remained in Leyth till towards the evening, and then repaired thither.”§

* Hailes’ Ann. i. 96.

† Camd. Britann. iv. 53, Note.

‡ Chron. Sax. p. 187. 224, 225.

|| Arnot’s Edinburgh, p. 309, 310. In the *Scotichronicon* it is called *Parcus Sarisberiensis*. Lib. xiii. c. 43. This designation is applied to it at the very time that the annalist represents the Earl of Salisbury, *Comes Sarisberiae*, as warring in Scotland; as in the two chapters immediately preceding.

§ Hist. Reformation, p. 284.

The term *Holyrud* occurs in the title of a protection from Edward III. A. 1335.*

A' thowsand a' hundyr and twenty yhere,
And awcht to thai, to rekyne clere,
Fowndyd wes the *Halyrwd hows*,
Fra' thine to be relygyows.

WYNTOUN, B. vii. c. 6. ver. 173.

I need scarcely add, that it is from this erection that the street, or rather suburb, called *Canongate*, has derived its name; q. the *gait*, or road, leading to the abbey of the *Canons*. It had indeed existed before. For David speaks of *quoddam burgum*, a certain borough or town, lying between the church of Holyrood and *his burgh*, (*i. e.* Edinburgh,) which he allows them, *herbergare*, to possess or people; granting to their burgesses to hold a market, and to buy and sell in his market, as freely as *his own proper* burgesses.†

In order to give greater celebrity to this religious foundation, and doubtless to increase the number of votaries, a miracle was vamped up, as having had its due influence in determining the mind of David, not only to erect an abbey here, but to name it that of the *Holy Cross*. The good king, we are told, having become very desirous to amuse himself by hunting in the forest which surrounded the Maiden Castle, as that of Edinburgh was then called, on Rood Day, or that of the Exaltation of the Cross, after the solemn mass was ended, disregarded the earnest dissuasions of his devout confessor Alcwine. Accordingly, when he had passed through the field where the Canongate now lies,

* Rotul. Scot. i. 350.

† Chart. Maitland's Edinburgh, p. 147. From this curious charter it appears, that David I. had at least a garden of his own near the castle. For he grants to these Canons, not only the *Kirktown* of St. Cuthbert's, and all that belongs to the church, with the land on which it stands, but also another piece of land, lying under the castle, on the north side, "from the fountain," as it is expressed, "which springs up near the corner of *my* garden, by the way which leads to the church of St. Cuthbert's." *Ibid.* p. 146.

and had reached the bottom of the *crag*, all his nobles being separated from him, the fairest hart that had ever been seen by human eyes, with very large antlers, so frightened the king's horse, that he could not possibly restrain him. The hart followed him so hard, "that he dang baith the king and his hors to the ground." The king, having thrown both his hands between the antlers of the deer, in order to save himself from its stroke, the holy cross immediately slid into his hands. The deer, of course, instantly fled with the greatest precipitation, and, indeed, vanished from his sight, "quhare now springis the Rude well." On the following night he was admonished by a vision "to big an abbay of Channonis Regular in the same place quhare he gat the croce," which, by the way, must have been a very singular one, as no man could "schaw of quhat mater it" was, "metal or tré."*

Lord Hailes has justly remarked, in regard to this legendary tale, to which he barely refers, that "it has not even the merit of antiquity;" as "it appears to be a fiction more recent than the days of Boece."† There is every reason to think so, indeed: for this writer does not take the slightest notice of it. We can scarcely suppose, that he would have been chargeable with an omission so unlike himself, had he been acquainted with the story. David Scott, with great inadvertency, asserts that David I. not only built the abbey, but "the royal palace of Holyrood-House, a most magnificent edifice."‡

This abbey received an increase of revenue, by a charter of William the Lion, granted between the years 1172 and 1180; and the grant was perfectly in unison with the primary design of the introduction of these Canons. For the churches and chapels in Galloway, "which of right belong to the Abbey of Icolmkill, with all their tithes and ecclesiastical benefices," besides several churches in Fife, which appear also to have belonged to them, are assigned to the Canons of Holyrood.||

The abbot of Holyrood was entitled to hold his court. They ac-

* Bellenden's Croniklis, B. xii. c. 16.

† Annals, i. 97.

‡ Hist. Scotland, p. 149.

|| Dalrymple's Collections, p. 271, 272.

cordingly held regular courts of regality, like other barons. For, in the charter from David I., it is said; "I grant, that the said Abbot shall have his court in as full, free, and honourable a manner, as the Bishop of St. Andrews, Abbot of Dunfermline, and Abbot of Kelso, enjoy theirs."*

Among the early donors to this rich abbey, John de Grahame, who possessed property in the neighbourhood of Dalkeith, and the lands of Abercorn, grants a charter to the abbey of Holyrood, about the year 1303.†

During the savage incursion made into Scotland by Richard II., when he destroyed so many religious houses, we learn from one MS. of Fordun, that he would also "have consumed the honourable monastery of the Holy Cross, had he not been dissuaded from it by his father-in-law, the Duke of Lancaster, who had formerly, in the time of his necessity, found a refuge here, when he fled from the ferocity of the boors."‡ Wyntoun refers to this circumstance, when speaking of Longcastell, or Longcastre, as he also names him, when "the carlis ras agayne"¹ the Kyng:

Til Edynburgh on the morne pas² thai,
And in-til Haly-rwde-hous that abbay
Thai mad hym for to tak herbry.³

CRONYKIL, B. ix. c. 4, v. 35.

There is a short chronicle of this abbey, entitled *Chronicon Sanctæ Crucis Edinburgensis*, which has been published by Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*. It has been remarked, that the author must have been an Englishman, as the accounts given by him chiefly regard England. || This chronicle has been recently reprinted, in a more perfect state,

* Maitland's Edinburgh, p. 146. Caledonia, ii. 580.

† Dalrymple's Collections, p. 397.

‡ Scotichron. lib. xiv. c. 50.

¹ Rose against.

² Pass.

³ Protection.

|| Dalrymple's Collections, p. 256.

under the title of *Chronicon Cænobii Sanctæ*, &c. as a donation to the Members of the Bannatyne Club, from Robert Pitcairn, Esq. Here there is a copy of the charter of foundation by David I., in which Edinburgh is denominated *Edwines-Burg*. When the city is mentioned in the chronicle itself, it is called *Edenesburch* and *Ednesburch*.* It is continued only to the year 1163, which is the thirty-fifth year from the foundation of the abbey. This there is less reason to regret, as the account given of Scottish affairs is so meagre.

“The royal palace of Holyroodhouse” has been called “the residence of our ancient kings.”† But this description is not applicable to it in the same extent as to some other of our palaces. Our princes might occasionally pass a few days here as guests. By James V., it is supposed, a place of residence was built, near the south-west corner of the church, about the year 1528; as his name appears at the bottom of a niche in the north-west tower of the palace. It seems certain, that in order to provide for himself a park for hunting, he also inclosed a large quantity of ground adjoining, and surrounded it with a stone wall, about three miles in circumference.‡

“James I.,” Chalmers has observed, “with his queen, resided in the abbey of Holyrood, when they attended public affairs at Edinburgh. In the same commodious hostel, James III. resided, till he was driven from it by treason.” For, as he further says, “the abbey, from their accommodation, and their sanctity during rude ages, became the lodgings of kings and nobles.” The following remark is certainly well founded: “We may easily suppose, that the frequency of the royal residence gradually improved the abbey to a palace.”||

The palace, indeed, had begun to rise as early at least as the reign of James IV. For his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., was celebrated in the *palace* of Holyrood, in August 1503. In the minute account that has been given us of the progress of the prin-

* Chron. p. 29. 33.

† Maitland, p. 152.

‡ Beauties of Scotl. i. 118.

|| Caledonia, ii. 605.

cess from Richmond, and of the celebration of the marriage, by Younge, the English herald, we find that "the noble company passed out of the towne" of Edinburgh "to the church of the Holy crosse;" and that, "after all reverences doon at the church, the King transported himself to the *Pallais*, thorough the clostre, holdynge allwayes the Qwene by the body; and hys hed barre [head bare], tyll he had brought hyr within her chammer."

It is evident from the narration, that even then the palace had consisted of a variety of apartments. For we read not only of "the Qwenes chammer," but of the King's, in which he supped, while the Qwene had much company "within her awn." There was also "the grett chammer," in which all the guests assembled; "the Quenes second chammer," and "Kings grett chammer," which is obviously distinguished from that formerly mentioned, afterwards called *the hall*. For *Largesse* "was cryed thre tymes in the *Kings* chammer, in the *grett* chammer, that is ny [nigh], and in the *Halle* of the Kyng and of the Qwene." At dinner, it is evident that three apartments were occupied; "the Kings grett chammer," "the Kings Hall," and "the Hall wher the Qwenes company wer satt in lyke as the other." There was, in the decoration of the palace, a degree of splendour, which, most probably, the English visitors did not expect to see. "The Kynge sat in a chayr of cramsyn velvett, the pannells of that sam gylte, under hys cloth of astat [state], of blew velvet, fygured of gold.—The chammer in which" the Queen "dined was rychly drest, and the cloth of astat wher she satt, was of clothe of golde varey riche.—The Kynge was served in vesselle gylt as the Qwene.—The chammer was haunged of red and of blew, and in it was a cyll [canopy] of a state of cloth of gold.—Ther wer also, in the sam chammer, a riche bed of astat, and a riche dressor [a board for plate] after the guyse of the countré." Of one of the chambers, "the hangynge represented the ystory of Troy towne, and in the glassys wyndowes wer the armes of Scotland and of Inglaund byperted.—The Kings grett chammer—was haunged about with the story of Hercules, togeder with other

ystorys."—The King's Hall "was haunged of th Ystory of the old Troy."*

To this auspicious marriage, by which our native prince became connected with both the White and the Red Rose of England, we owe that beautiful allegorical poem, by Dunbar, *The Thistle and the Rose*; in which the writer informs us, that he

———For his subject chois^a
To sing the Royal Thrissill and the Rose.

Of Dame Nature, whom he represents as Queen, he says:

Upon the awfull *Thrissill* scho beheld,
And saw him keipit^b with a busche of speiris;
Considering him so able for the weiris,^c
A radius^d crown of rubies scho^e him gaif,^f
And said, In feild go furth, and fend^g the laif.

Then he makes her tender an advice to James, which it might have been happy for him had he followed.

And sen thou art a King, thou be discreit,
Herb without vertew thow hald nocht of sic pryce
As herb of vertew and of odor sweet.—
Nor hald no udir^h flour in sic dentyⁱ
As the fresche *Rose* of cullor reid^k and quhyt.^l

* Lelande's Collectanea, iv. 290–296. There can be no doubt, I think, that some of the pieces of tapestry, enumerated in that curious work, edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq. Deputy Register, "A Collection of Inventories," &c. were the very same with those particularised above by the English Herald. "In primis xiii pece of tapessarie of the historie of Eneas.—Item ix pece of the *auld historie of Troy*, evill spilt [much damaged].—Item ix peicis of tapestrie of the antik story contenand the story of *Hercules*. Item aucht peicis of auld claythis, of the story of *Troy*."—P. 49, 50. 103, 104. These Inventories include the *Abilyaments*, &c. of James V. A. 1539 and 1541.

^a Chose.

^b Guarded.

^c Wars.

^d Radiant.

^e She.

^f Gave.

^g Defend.

^h Other.

ⁱ Estimation.

^k Red.

^l White.

He afterwards introduces the Mavis as singing ;

Haill *Rose* most riche and richt,—

Haill plant of youth, haill Princés dochtir^m deir,

Haill blosome breking out of the blud royall,ⁿ &c.

BANNATYNE POEMS, p. 5-7.

Lord Hailes has remarked, that this marriage was “an event on which the fate of the two nations has turned throughout every succeeding age; to it we owe the union of the crowns, the union of the kingdoms, and the Protestant succession.”* It is in consequence, indeed, of this connubial alliance, that, notwithstanding of the union of the Thistle with the Rose, we, as a nation, can boast of—*Rosa sine spina*.

Referring to this account, Chalmers has observed, that “at that period, the palace had a chapel within it; and the chaplain was the keeper of the palace.”† But what Younge calls the *church* was undoubtedly that properly belonging to the abbey. For, in p. 290, it is called “the church of the Holy Crosse;” and the *Quere* or *Quire* is particularly mentioned.

From a deed of James IV. dated at Edinburgh, A. 1506, it appears that, during his reign, there was a royal palace, distinct from the monastery of Holyrood, and in its immediate vicinity. For from this paper we learn that divers charters, belonging to the Earl of Huntly, “had been consumed by a fire suddenly taking place in his (the Earl’s) chamber, under *our* palace, near *our* monastery of Holy Rood, near Edinburgh.”‡

^m Daughter.

ⁿ Blood-royal.

* Ibid. Notes, p. 223.

† Caledonia, ii. 605.

‡ Diversae cartae et evidētiaē spectantes dilecto consanguineo et consiliario nostro Alexandro Comiti de Huntlie,—ex subitaneo incendio contingente in sua camera infra palatium nostrum juxta Monasterium nostrum sanctae crucis prope Edinburgh, jam nuper combustae et destructae erant, &c. Declaration James IV., Gordon’s History of the Family of Gordon, App. i. 408.

It has been mentioned, in a general way, in the description of this palace, that it was burnt by the English in the minority of Queen Mary. But, as it is rather singular, that not only a royal residence, but a place devoted to religion, should be given up to the flames, many readers may wish to know the circumstances connected with this event.

Henry VIII. of England, assured that it would be for the interest of both countries, if a lasting peace could be established, proposed the marriage of his excellent son Edward, afterwards the Sixth of that name, with the young Queen. To this the parliament of Scotland agreed, entering into a treaty on this ground. But the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, supported by Cardinal Beaton, and the zealous friends of popery, were determined to defeat this wise plan, and to send Mary to France. Henry felt so indignant, that he determined to avenge the insult offered to him, in a way worthy of his natural character; and, A. 1543, sent the Earl of Hertford with a powerful fleet to make depredations in Scotland. The troops having been landed, and come near to Edinburgh, a deputation appeared from the latter, offering the keys of the town, on condition of the inhabitants being permitted to carry off their property, and of the town being saved from fire. They received for answer, that, unless they would deliver up the town unconditionally, all the inhabitants submitting themselves to the will of Henry's lieutenant, he "would put them to the sword, and their town to the fire." The inhabitants having attempted to make resistance, the result is expressed, by the English writer who was on the spot, with as much *nonchalance* as if he had been giving an account of a common bonfire. "It was determyned by the sayde Lorde Lieutenaunt, vtterly to ruynate and destroye the sayde towne with fyer; which, for that the nyghte drewe faste on, we omytted thoroughly to execute on that daye; but settinge fyer in thre or iiii. partes of the towne, we repayred for that night vnto our campe. And the nexte mornynge very erly we began where we left, and continued burnynge all that daye, & the two dayes next ensuinge contynually, so that neyther within the wawles, nor in the suburbes, was lefte any one

house vnbrent, besydes the innumerable botyes [booties], spoyles, and pyllages, that our souldyours brought from thense, notwithstanding habundaunce whiche was consumed with fyer. Also, we *brent thabbey* [burned the abbey] *called Holy Rode-house, and the pallice* adioynyng to the same."

Accounting all this too little, this humane narrator adds with an air of triumph: "In the meane tyme,—there came vnto vs iiii. M. of our lyghte horsemen from the borders by the Kynges Maiesties appoyntement, who—dyd suche exploytes in rydyng and deuastyng the countrie, that within vii. myles euery waye of Edenborrough, they lefte neyther pyle [castle], village, nor house, standynge vnbrente, nor stakes [stacks] of corne, besydes great nombres of cattayles which they brought dayly into the armey," &c. "Syr Nicholas Poyntz—wan by force the towne of Kynghorne, and the same brent, with certeyne other townes on that syde."—"The Kynges sayde Lieutenaunt thynkynge the Scottes not to be condyngly ponished for theyr falshed to the Kinges Maiestie, determyned not to returne without doynge them more dyspleasure.—We brake downe the peire of the hauen of Lythe, and brent every stycke of it.—We left neyther pyle, village, towne, nor house, in our waye homewardes vnbrent."* Lest due attention should not be given to such intelligence, the writer, a few pages downwards, gives a list of their depredations, adding, however;—"besides a great nombre of villages, pyles, and stedes, whiche I can not name." It commences with this agreeable repetition: "The borow and towne of Edenborough, with thabbey called Hollyroode house, and the Kynges palice adioynyng to the same. The towne of Lythe brent, and the hauen and pere destroyed."

This stately abbey, it appears, together with the choir and cross of its church, was at this time destroyed; and nothing left standing but the body of the church, which was a magnificent Gothic structure. The brazen font, belonging to it, was carried off by Sir Richard Lea,

* Expedition in Scotlande, 1544, p. 7-11.

Knight, captain of the English pioneers; who presented it to the church of St Albans in Hertfordshire.*

The English paid a posterior visit to Holyrood, during the minority of Edward VI., under the good Duke of Somerset, immediately after the fatal battle of Pinkie. The account given of this visit by Patten forms a curious morsel in the history of a military expedition. For he represents them as, on this occasion, coming more with the spirit of reformers, than with that of vengeful depredators. Patten gives this account of their visit. "Thear stode southwestward, about a quarter of a mile from our campe, a monasterie, thei call it *Holly roode abbey*. Sir Water Bonham and Edward Chamberlayne *gat lycense to suppress it*: whearupon these *commissioners* makyng first theyr *visitacion* thear, they found the moonks all gone;"—(and who could wonder at it, as they would not reckon this martial visitation quite canonical?) "but the church and mooch parte of the house well coouered with leade. Soon after, thei pluct [plucked] of the leade, & had down the bels, (which wear but ii.); and, according to the *statute*, did sumwhat hearby disgrace the hous." The lead might be of some use to their reforming compatriots. "As touchyng the moonkes, bicaus they wear gone, thei put them to their pencions at large;" that is, I suppose, to find their pensions by questing, or by collecting them for themselves.†

After this desolation, it was speedily repaired, and greatly enlarged. The palace then consisted of five courts; which have been thus described. The westmost, which was the outermost court, was larger than all the rest. It was bounded on the east by the front of the palace, which occupied the same space with its present front, and also extended farther south. The three remaining sides of the outer court were bounded by walls; and, at the north-west corner, there was a strong gate, with Gothic pillars, arches, and towers. The next court occupied the same ground with the present central court of the royal

* Kincaid. *V. Grose's Antiq. Scotl.* i. 28. † Patten's *Expedicion into Scotlande*, p. 82.

palace, and was surrounded with buildings. On the south, there were two smaller courts, also surrounded in the same manner; and another court on the east, bounded on the north by the chapel royal, on the west by a line of buildings covering the same space with the present east front of the palace; on the south, by a row of buildings which are now demolished; and on the north by a wall which divided it from St Anne's yards.

Alesius, or Alesse, a native of Edinburgh, in his description of this city, published at Basle 1550, says that "the monastery of Holyrood had adjoined to it a royal palace and most pleasant *gardens*, inclosed by the lake at the bottom of Arthur's seat."* These gardens, it is admitted, were very extensive; but whether the language refers to Duddingstone Loch, or to the morass near Ressalrig, is doubtful. In the immediate vicinity of the palace, as in that of Stirling, there was a *Lions' Den*. For, according to Sir James Melville, after the murder of Riccio, "the Erles of Atholl, Bothewell, and Huntly,—eschaiped be louping down out of a window, towardis the litle garding wher the *lyons are lugit*.† In an "Inventar of the movables of Halyruid-hous," A. 1603, "twa peices of talpestrie" are mentioned as "lyand in the transe, be the quhilk thai gang to the *wyld bestiall*.‡

Great part of the palace having been burned by Cromwell's soldiers, A. 1650, it was ordered to be repaired at the Restoration.§ The present magnificent fabric was erected, according to a design furnished by Sir William Bruce, a celebrated architect in the reign of Charles II. It was at the same time ordered, that the church should be completely repaired; and, as it had been formerly the only parish-church of the Canongate, that it should be set apart as a chapel royal. "It was accordingly fitted up," says Grose, "in a very elegant manner. A throne was erected for the sovereign, and twelve stalls for the knights

* Bannatyne Miscellany, ii. 187.

† Memoirs, p. 158, 149. Edit. 1827.

‡ Bannat. Miscell. ii. p. †185, from Haddington's Extr. MS. Adv. Libr.

§ Arnot's History of Edinburgh, p. 305.

of the order of the Thistle; but, as—mass had been celebrated in it in the reign of James VII., the populace, giving vent to their fury at the Revolution, despoiled the ornaments of the inside of the church, leaving nothing but the bare walls. They even broke into the vault which had been used as the royal sepulchre; in which lay the bodies of James V.; of Magdalen of France, his first queen; of the Earl of Darnley; and others of the monarchs and royal family of Scotland.”*

James VII. resided here, while, being yet only Duke of York, he found it necessary to leave England, because of his extreme unpopularity there. He had occasionally the consolation of attending the trials, and of witnessing the tortures, of the persecuted Presbyterians, when they were subjected to *the Boots*. The palace was at this time privileged with a press, whence a number of Popish books were issued. This wretched, priest-ridden prince has scarcely left any memorial of him in this vicinity but one. The level strip, at the bottom of the high ground behind the abbey, has received the name of *the Duke's Walk*, from its being a favourite promenade of this infatuated man.†

Nothing, regarding the history of this palace, has given it equal interest with its being the more general residence of that beautiful queen, who, as she had been sent to France in her infancy, to avoid the rough courtship of Henry VIII. for his son, returned from it a widow, and almost an entire stranger to that people whom she was called to govern; who, notwithstanding her natural acuteness and many accomplishments, was ill qualified for the task;—from her French education;—from her early and permanent prejudices against that religion which by far the greatest part of her subjects had embraced;—from the powerful influence of the Guises, the most bigotted family in Europe;—from her inheriting the hereditary weakness of her name in being a prey to designing favourites;—from the barbarity of the manners of even her chief nobles, whose religion had not yet

* Grose's Antiq. Scotl. i. p. 28, 29.

† Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 309.

taught them to be "pitiful" or "courteous;"—and, perhaps, above all, from her being so unfortunate as to have a rival on the throne of England, who, unable to forgive Mary for her superiority in regard to personal charms, seems, from the hour of her return to Scotland, to have determined to subject her completely to her controul, and, for this purpose, without any squeamishness about the means, to employ her own superior craft, whatever should be the consequence; who, in a word, while she professed great zeal for a purer creed, seems no farther to have regarded any form of religion, than as it might be most subservient to the purposes of her own contemptible envy, or unwomanly tyranny. To her, Holyroodhouse, from being the scene of much joy, and festivity, and folly, soon became that of deep degradation and heart-rending sorrow. Here, in her very presence, under the protection of her own apartment, and while she was in a situation that would have called forth the exercise of tenderness in the heart of a savage, her nobles entered, at the instigation of that weak, ductile youth, whom she had unluckily chosen as her husband, and, regardless of all her intreaties, ruthlessly shed the blood of her secretary. Nothing can possibly excuse such conduct on their part. If Rizzio was really guilty of the crime of which they accused him, they must have been able to bring forward proof of it; and the same power of party, which secured his murder, must have sufficed to accomplish his destruction in a legal manner. But although they had found it an easy matter to infuse matrimonial jealousy into the mind of the imbecile Darnley, there is reason to believe that the actors were themselves under the influence of quite a different species of jealousy,—that of the superior intellect of the more erudite Italian.

In the second floor are Queen Mary's apartments, in one of which her bed still remains. The embroidery on the bed and chairs is said to be chiefly the work of her own hands;* and this is highly probable, as, from many specimens yet remaining, which are dispersed throughout the country, it is evident that neither she, nor her maids of honour,

* Cordiner's Remarkable Ruins; Palace of Holyroodhouse.

were strangers to industry. "Towards the outward door of this apartment, there are," says Arnot, "in the floor, large dusky spots, said to have been occasioned by Riccio's blood staining the floor, which washing of the boards has not been able to take out."* Pennant, after particularizing "some good portraits," in the other rooms, remarks that "the gallery of the palace," which "takes up one side, is filled with *colossal* portraits of the kings of Scotland."† These, indeed, except a very few, afford a far better proof of the fertility of the painter's fancy, than of the correctness of his taste.

One can scarcely imagine a happier device, for stringing together a number of detached ballads, so as to give them an interest they would not otherwise have had, and communicate a sort of unity, to parts so dissonant, as to make them seem one whole,—than the idea of making Holyroodhouse, on the return of Mary to her native land, the scene of a kind of poetical jousting, between the different bards of Scotland, in the royal presence. Mr Hogg, in this work, which undoubtedly possesses great merit, thus claims the attention of his fair countrywomen.—

Then list, ye maidens, to my lay,
Though old the tale, and past the day;
Those wakes, now played by minstrels poor,
At midnight's darkest, chilldest hour,
Those humble wakes, now scorned by all,
Were first begun in courtly hall,
When royal Mary, blithe of mood,
Kept holiday at Holyrood.

QUEEN'S WAKE, *Introd.*

The apartments, possessed by the Duke of Hamilton as hereditary keeper of the palace, are all that remain of the old structure. In these lodged the young Chevalier during his residence in Edinburgh; and, a few weeks after, the Duke of Cumberland occupied the very same

* History of Edinburgh, p. 306.

† Pennant's Tour in 1769, p. 66.

apartment, and the very same bed, which is still standing. After the defeat of the royal army at Falkirk, General Hawley thought proper to quarter his troops in the gallery of the palace; and these *well-disciplined troops*, as Arnot has remarked, thought they could not better manifest their loyalty to King George, than by defacing, and hewing in pieces, every representation of royalty.

Since that time these apartments afforded an asylum to the present King of France, then Monsieur, with a few of the emigrant nobles, when there was no safety for them in their own country. In the year 1822, his present Majesty, George IV., when, by his visit, he diffused universal happiness through that part of the united kingdom, over which, for so many centuries, his ancestors had swayed the sceptre, graced and gladdened the long-deserted halls of Holyrood with his royal presence. Here he held his courts, although he resided at Dalkeith, under the roof of the Duke of Buccleuch.

The precincts of the palace, including the ground which was first inclosed by James V., to the extent of about three miles, afford a sanctuary for debtors. This, it would appear, has the same bounds with the ancient sanctuary, belonging to the monastery, for the refuge and protection of criminals. This privilege is, perhaps, founded on the following clause in David's charter:—"I strictly forbid all persons from taking a poind [distrain], or making a *seizure*, in or upon the lands of the said Holy Cross, unless the Abbot refuse to do justice to the person injured."* The person who fled to the abbey was thus secure, if the abbot chose to protect him: for what temporal judge would dare to accuse the holy abbot of injustice? Expressive of the modern indemnity, one who finds it necessary to take the benefit of the *girth* afforded by the environs of Holyroodhouse, is ludicrously denominated an *Abbey-Laird*. This designation seems not to be of yesterday; for it occurs in a pretty old comic song called the *Cock-Laird*. In this, when our Scottish yeoman makes love to his sweetheart, her demands are rather high for

* Cart. Dav. I. Vide Maitland's Hist. Edin. p. 147.

him; as he informs her that, although he possesses as much land as would supply them with meal and barley, having no tenants, he has not money to throw away on *vanities*. She replies;—

The Borrowstoun merchants

Will sell you on tick ;

For we maun hae braw things,

Abeit they soud break.

When broken, frae care

The fools are set free,

When we mak them *Lairds*

In the *Abbey*, quoth she.

HERD'S COLLECTION, ii. 36.



LOCHMABER CASTLE

Engraved by W. Miller

HOLYROODHOUSE

she, as he informs her that, although he possesses as much land as would
supply them with meal and barley, having no tenants, he has not money
to throw away on vanities. She replies :—

The Barrowston merchants
Will sell you an iick ;
For we mean to hraw things,
Afore they woud break.
When broken, free care
The fairs are set free,
When we mak them Leids
In the Abbey, quoth she.

DUNDEE COLLECTION, ii. 36.



Drawn by W. Brown

LOCHMABEN CASTLE.

Engraved by W. Miller

Lochmaben.

THE ruins of this ancient seat of royalty are situated on a peninsula formed by the lake whence it takes its name, about three quarters of a mile from the burgh, and eight miles from Dumfries. The scenery is not so romantic, indeed, as that which environs some of our northern lakes; but it is very pleasing. The *Loch* itself is a beautiful sheet of water, lying to the south of the town, a mile and a half in length, and a mile in breadth. It abounds in a variety of fish, including the Vendace, or Gwiniad, of Wales, here denominated *Vangis* and *Juvangis*, and viewed as the same with the *Pollen* of Lough Neagh in Ireland, and the *Powan* of Lochlomond.* Whether this be the “fisch swomand but [swimming without] ony fyn,” that Boece, and after him Bellenden, celebrates as found in Lochlomond, I shall not presume to determine.† The rich cultivated fields in its neighbourhood slope down to the water’s edge; and the massy ruins of the fortress rear their moss-grown summits from amidst the venerable trees that remain as the witnesses of its former greatness.

The site of the castle itself occupies about an acre of ground. It contained three courts, strongly built with stone and lime, the walls being twelve feet thick. It was surrounded by three deep ditches, which were filled with water from the loch. Two of these, which are

* Pennant’s Zoology, iii. 268.

† Boeth. Descr. Scot.—Bellenden’s Cosmographie, c. 7.

cut across the peninsula, are yet to be seen. Two of the walls, between twenty and thirty feet high, are still standing. Through one of these walls the ditches run; and each of the arches, which were formed for the passage of the water, had been guarded by a portcullis. The inner ditch extended through the castle, within which there was a basin for receiving the boats, that they might be placed beyond the reach of an enemy, and sheltered from the weather. The principal entry appears to have been by water. It is supposed that the whole fortification may have included thirteen acres.*

This has been a very strong fortress, and, before the use of artillery, might be considered as impregnable. Its ruinous state is not to be chiefly ascribed to the injuries of time, or to the devastations of war, but to a cause far more provoking to a mind that possesses the slightest degree of patriotism. Does the traveller inquire, if this noble structure has been brought to its present dilapidated and degraded state by the inroads of invading enemies? He learns with astonishment, if not with horror, that this has been almost entirely accomplished by the descendants of those very men who were reared under the wings of the illustrious family that possessed this as their patrimonial castle,—of the men who accounted it their honour to fight under the banner of Bruce, and who owed all their peculiar and hereditary privileges to his liberality: for the corner-stones, the lintels, and the architectural ornaments, have been all carried off by the inhabitants of *the Royal Burgh of Lochmaben*, for building their own paltry tenements. In this manner have they erected a monument of gratitude for benefits of which they still boast; and testified their imperishable attachment to royalty, by consolidating their own houses by means of its spoils. Such men, when called to it, must surely contend with the greatest zeal *pro aris et focis*. One can hardly imagine how such savage depredation could have been suffered in a country where a single magistrate of any description resided, in one especially

* *Beauties of Scotland*, ii. 272, 273.

where there are various proprietors who claim the honourable designation of "*keepers* of the royal palaces." *

A friend, who has favoured me with some communications on the present state of this castle, in consequence of a visit paid to it, seems to have viewed it with his "eye in a fine frenzy rolling." "Like Carrick," he says, "the other residence of this noble family, it is lonely and forsaken. Rank weeds and nettles, intermixed with the sombre *digitalis*, grow in its halls, and find shelter beneath its ivy-bound battlements. The heron builds her nest in the lofty elms, which overshadow it; and the wild-duck leads her brood up the moats, and nestles in the sedges that line them on each side. The owl pours forth her mournful ditty to the wind, sighing through the trees. The ruins appear beautiful by moonlight, as the unshapely masses are then so blended as to produce a picturesque effect; and the ideal shapes which they assume, with the silver bursts of light, crowning and tipping the lofty walls, together with the deeply impressive recollections of the past, which crowd upon the mind, and the solemn stillness of the scene, (except in as far as it is broken by the wailings of the owl,

* The Barons of the Honourable Court of Exchequer have, greatly to their credit, expended considerable sums, intrusted to them for the public benefit, for preserving and repairing some of the venerable remains of antiquity in North Britain. To prevent the destruction of such of these as might be found under ground, as coins, or other articles consisting of the precious metals, from the false idea that they would be demanded without any remuneration being allowed, they, some years ago, published an advertisement, giving an assurance that, if these were brought into the Exchequer, the persons who found them would receive at least the full value in bullion. Would it not be in perfect accordance with the same laudable plan, were their Lordships, as, at least, the official guardians of the honours of the Crown, to publish an express prohibition, under the pains of law, of such dilapidations of royal property in future? This could not, indeed, repair the irremediable evil that has already been done, by the dishonest barbarity of those who make no account of any expense that proves a saving to themselves; but it would certainly be a means of preventing the continuance of the evil, and thus of preserving some of those valuable remains of former ages, which have hitherto escaped a similar fate.

and the murmurings of the wind, which rather increase than diminish its solemnity,) render a nocturnal visit to Lochmaben a gratification worthy of being coveted by the poet, the painter, or the lover of nature."

This castle is said to have been by far the largest and strongest of any, either on the Scottish or English side of the border, next to Carlisle, against which it was a frontier garrison. Before the union of the crowns, two hundred men were constantly kept in it.

This, however, is not the only castle which belonged to the Bruces at Lochmaben. They had not only one at Annan, and another at Hoddam, but here there was also one of an earlier date, which stood on the north-west side of the largest of the lakes in this vicinity, called the *Castle Loch*. This, according to Chalmers, "was built in the twelfth century, by Robert de Brus, the Lord of Annandale, and was the chief residence of the Bruces till the end of the thirteenth century." In regard to the one which succeeded this, he says,—“When this fort was built cannot now be ascertained; but this event was probably towards the end of the thirteenth century, about the time of the competition for the crown.”* It has been asserted, indeed, that “this castle was built by Robert Bruce, the first of that name, king of Scotland.”† This, however, is extremely improbable. Before the assertion of his right to the crown, he could not have engaged in the erection of so strong a fortress, without exciting the suspicion of Edward I. as to his designs. He had neither opportunity nor means for carrying on such a work during the time of his arduous struggle. When this was terminated by the defeat of his enemies, and the establishment of peace, he had business of far more importance to occupy his attention. We discover no vestige, in any of our public records, of his being thus engaged. On the contrary, from one of them it seems probable that the castle of Lochmaben came into the possession of his nephew Randolph, Earl of Murray, who is recognised as

* Caledonia, iii. 141, 142.

† Stat. Acc. vii. 237.

as Lord of Annandale.”* Had King Robert been more partial to castle-building than he was, he would most likely have given the preference to Turnberry.

It has also been stated, that this illustrious king was born in the most ancient of these castles.† But I must here refer my reader to what has been anticipated on this head under the article CARRICK. It is to be observed that, in several deeds of Edward III., mention is made both of a *Castle* and of a *Peel* at Lochmaben; as in a letter from him to Adam de Corry, whom he designs his “seneschal of the *castle*, *peel*, and lands of Lochmaben and Annandale,” in a grant to William de Bohun, and in another to Henry de Percy.‡

Distinct from both these castles, there appears to have been one more ancient than either of them, erected in one of the seven or eight lochs reckoned up in this neighbourhood. “According to tradition, there was a nunnery in the largest of them, where a *castle* afterwards stood; and some, who are acquainted with the Gaelic, say, that Lochmaben signifies the *Loch of the Maidens*, or the *Loch of the Fair*.||

I should be disposed to doubt this derivation, were it for no other reason than this, that, although *maighdean* is rendered, in modern Gaelic, a maiden, it is obviously a term borrowed from the Gothic, as not a vestige of it appears, either in the old British, or in its kindred dialect, the Armorican. In the latter, the only similar words are the derivatives of the verb *maga*, which conveys rather a different idea from that of *maid*, as signifying to act the part of a nurse. As this fortress was apparently within the limits of the kingdom of Strat-Clyde, the name may have been formed from Welsh *llwch*,—*mebyn* and *maban*, a babe.

Another mode of orthography, however, occurs in one old deed. Robert I. grants a charter to Thomas, son of John of Carruthers, of

* Parl. Rec. Scot. i. 81. Kerr's Bruce, ii. 320.

† Stat. Acc. *ut sup.* p. 236.

‡ Rotul. Scot. i. 276, *b.*; 399, *a.*; 479, *b.*

|| Stat. Acc. vii. 234.

Musfald, &c. dated at "our manor of *Lochmalban*."* Could we view this as the original form of the word, it might be traced, either to Gaelic *loch maol ben*, or to Welsh *llwch moel ban*, both signifying "the lake of the bald" or "smooth eminence." I know not how this etymon may suit the locality.

The first mention that is made of this place is by Humphrey Lluyd, who has said that Constantine, King of Cumbria, was killed at Lochmaben about 870.† But this seems to be a mere fabrication. Robert de Brus, the son of that noble knight of Normandy, who came into England with William the Conqueror, and first possessed the manor of Skelton, being in a state of friendship with our David I. while prince, received from him, when he came to the throne, the lordship of Annandale, with a right to enjoy his castle there, with all the customs appertaining to it. Whether this refers to Lochmaben, I have no means of ascertaining. This grant was made A. 1124.‡

A charter, granted by William the Lion to Robert, the third Lord of Annandale, confirming to him the property possessed by his father in that district, is dated at *Lochmaban*. This is supposed to have been granted between the years 1165 and 1174. Ayloffe gives not only the charter, but a *fac-simile* of the royal seal.|| The church of Lochmaben was one of those which Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, gave to the monks of Gyseburn, in Yorkshire, about the year 1183.§ Bruce, the competitor for the throne, and the grandfather of Robert I., died at his castle of Lochmaben, A. 1295. According to Leland, this event took place, A. 1296.¶ In the year preceding his death, he had granted a charter, dated at this fortress, confirming a convention between the monks of Melros, and those of Holmcultram.** "This old castle of Lochmaben," it has been said, "continued the chief re-

* Reg. Mag. Sig. p. 18, No. 92.

† Wood's Doug. Peer. i. 316.

§ Dugdale's Monast. ii. 151.

** Caledonia, iii. 77.

† Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 98.

|| Calendars, p. 346, 349.

¶ Collectanea, iii. 315.

sidence of this respectable family, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Robert de Brus, the first Earl of Carrick, of this dynasty, probably repaired the castle at Annan.* As a stone, taken from the ruins of Annan Castle, bears his name, with the date 1300, the conjecture seems to be formed, with great probability, that the family had continued previously to reside at Lochmaben.

According to the testimony of our venerable minstrel, that hero, who so long withstood all the power, and all the bribes, of the royal Norman usurper,—he whom English writers have called “a public robber,”† who could be vanquished only by the vilest treachery,—the immortal Wallace,—took the castle of Lochmaben. As he had only a few men with him, the deserted state of the place made it comparatively an easy acquisition. He thus addressed himself to the gallant Sir John Grahame, and his other companions:—

“ I wald sailye, ^a giff ^b ye think it may be,
Lowmaban houss, quhilk now is left allayne;
 For weill I wait ^c power in it is lewyd ^d nayne. ^e
Carlauerok als yeit ^f Maxwell has in hand;
 And we had this, thai mycht be bath ^g a wand
 Agayne ^h Sotheroun, ⁱ that now has our cuntré.
 Say quhat ye will, this is the best, think me.” ^k
 Schir Jhone the Grayme gaiff ^l fyrst his gud consent;
 Syne all the layff, ^m rycht with a haill entent. ⁿ
 To *Lowmaban* rycht haistely thai ryd.

The old bard subjoins a characteristic trait of the invariable conduct of Wallace to the defenceless.

* Caledonia, iii. 78, 79.

† Quidam latro puplicus, Willielmus Waleys. Knyghton, col. 2513.—Ille latro, *ibid.* 2516.

^a Assail.

^b If.

^c Know.

^d Left.

^e None.

^f As yet, still.

^g Both.

^h Against.

ⁱ Englishmen.

^k In my apprehension.

^l Gave.

^m Remainder.

ⁿ Design.

———Quhen the ladie had thaim seyne,
 “ Grace,” scho cryit, “ for hym that deit ° on tré.”
 Than Wallace said, “ Mademe, your noyis lat be. p
 To wemen yeit we do bot litill ill ;
 Na yong childir we lik for to spill. q

WALLACE, B. V. v. 997. 1033.

After the death of John Bohun, Earl of Hereford, this castle was given to Edward, of the same name.* It was, A. 1335, in the keeping of William Bohun, whom Randolph, Earl of Moray, “ found *in his own castle* of Lochmaban, and bearing sway *over all his own lands* of Annandale, when he returned from his captivity in France.”† In the year 1366, it is spoken of as the property of Humphrey de Bohun, who is authorised to victual and repair it.‡

In July 1298, Edward I. took possession of Lochmaben Castle ; and, in 1300, when we find him here a second time,|| he strengthened this fortress, with that of Dumfries, placing adequate garrisons in them, with ample supplies, and appointing a governor for each.

To this fortress Bruce fled, A. 1304, on his way from London, before erecting his royal standard. Having met, near the west marches, a traveller on foot, whose appearance was suspicious, he found, on examination, that he was the bearer of letters from Comyn to the English king, urging the death or the immediate imprisonment of Bruce. He beheaded the messenger, and pressed forward to his castle of Lochmaben, where he arrived on the seventh day after his departure from London. Hence he proceeded to Dumfries, where the fatal interview between him and Comyn took place.§ Here, according to Arch-

° Died.

p Cease to cry.

q Destroy.

* Rot. Scotul. i. 280.

† Scotichron. lib. xiii. c. 48. Bower designs him *Dominum Willelmum Bown, Comitem de Northampton.*

‡ Rotul. Scot. i. 908.

|| Dec. Script. col. 2527.

§ Relat. Arnold. Blair, p. 7. Hailes' Ann. i. 291.

deacon Barbour, he found his beloved brother Edward; but he makes it to have been the fifteenth day of his journey.

He and the clerk, for owtyn ma, ^a
 Lap on, for owtyn persawyng :
 And day and nycht, but soiournyng,
 Thai raid; quhill, ^b on the fyften day,
 Cummyn till *Louchmaban* ar thai.
 Hys brodyr Eduuard thar thai fand,
 That thocht ferly, ^c Ic tak on hand,
 That thai come hame sa priuely. ^d

THE BRUCE, B. i. v. 644.

After the slaughter of Comyn, he returned to the same fortress till his friends and vassals might be assembled.

——Quhen he, as ye hard me say,
 In till the kyrk Schyr Jhone haid slayn,
 Til *Louchmabane* he went agayne;
 And gert ^e men, with his lettres, ryd
 To freyndis apon ilk sid,
 That come to hym with thar mengye; ^f
 And his men als assemblit he;
 And thought that he wald mak him king.

Ibid. v. 700.

In 1309, Lochmaben, Dumfries, Caerlaverock, Dalswinton, and Tibbers, were all in the hands of the English.* Edward III. appointed a variety of officers for the castle of Lochmaben, and the stewartry of Annandale. In 1333, Edward Baliol pretended to make a gift, to Henry de Percy, of Annandale, with the castle of Lochmaben; which, on Percy's resignation for an equivalent, Edward III. granted to Edward de Bohun.† He must have been nearly related to that Henry

* Without more.

b Until.

c Thought it strange.

d So privately; without any retinue.

e Caused.

f Adherents.

* Hailes' Ann. i. 263. Caledonia, iii. 82, 83.

† *Ibid.* p. 85.

de Bohun, cousin to the Earl of Hereford, who singly assaulted King Robert at the field of Bannockburn, and received his death by one stroke of the mace which the King bore: * for he was succeeded in the possession of this property by John de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.† In 1346, David II. reduced this castle; but in consequence of the disastrous battle of Durham, Baliol regained possession of Annandale. Even after the restoration of David, Edward III. shewed a firm but dishonourable determination to retain this fortress. However, A. 1384, the Earl of Douglas, and Archibald Douglas, the Lord of Galloway, whose territories had been infested by the English garrison of Lochmaben, besieged, took, and demolished it.‡ The Earl of March having received a gift of Annandale, we find him, A. 1409, resigning that to the Regent Albany. It was forthwith granted to Archibald Earl of Douglas, and his heirs-male. || Here, however, there is no mention of the castle of Lochmaben; whence we may, perhaps, conclude that it had not yet been rebuilt. In consequence of the rebellious conduct of the Douglasses, James II., A. 1450, marched an army into Annandale, and took and garrisoned this castle.§ This, with the rest of their property, fell to the crown, by the attainder of the Earl of Douglas. Annandale, including Lochmaben, was granted by the king to his second son Alexander, whom he created Earl of March, Lord of Annandale, and Duke of Albany.¶ As the town of Lochmaben was, in 1463, burnt by the invading army of the Earl of Warwick, it is probable that the castle shared the same fate. By the forfeiture of that worthless prince Alexander, Duke of Albany, A. 1483, the Lordship of Annandale, and the castle of Lochmaben, were again vested in the crown.**

* *Vide* Barbour, edit. 1820, p. 235.

† Caledonia, *ubi sup.*

‡ *Castrum ipsum caeperunt, et ad terram continuo prostraverunt.* Fordun. *Scotichron.* lib. xiv. c. 47.—*Obsedit Mabanum, &c.* Buchanan, lib. ix. c. 46. This is the name by which he designates this castle.

|| *Reg. Mag. Sig.* p. 241, No. 47.

§ *Godscroft*, p. 182, 183.

¶ *Act. Parl.* ii. 42, 43.

** *Caledonia*, iii. 91.

In a progress made by James IV. in the year 1504, against the disorderly inhabitants of the south, he, on the 17th of September, left Lochmaben, on his way to Edinburgh, by Peebles. It appears, from the treasurer's accounts, that, in 1503-4, this prince built a large hall in the castle of Lochmaben, and made great repairs and improvements, on that fortress, from 1503 to 1506.* We may perhaps view it as a proof of the interest which James IV. took in the preservation of this royal fortress, that he consigned the custody of it to Robert Lauder of the Bass. For "there is extant a grant, dated 16th March 1511, to the said Robert," of the office of captain and keeper of Lochmaben castle, for seven years, with many perquisites. Among others, the 'land stolen frae the king' is bestowed upon the captain, as his property.† During the minority of James V., Robert, Lord Maxwell, being a favoured counsellor of the queen-mother, was by her intrusted with the keeping of the castles of Lochmaben and Thrieff, for nineteen years, with the usual privileges.‡ In the year 1565, when queen Mary pursued, into Dumfriess-shire, those who had broken out into rebellion on account of her marriage with Darnley, she, accompanied by him, visited Lochmaben Castle, which was then in the custody of Sir John Maxwell.|| In 1588, when James VI. was prosecuting his quarrel with Lord Maxwell, he summoned his various castles to surrender. They all obeyed, except Lochmaben, which was defended by one of the same name. It was given up, however, after two days firing.§

In consequence of the forfeiture of Lord Maxwell, and the vesting of all his estates and offices in the crown, A. 1609, James, in the year 1612, granted the government of this castle, with the barony of Lochmaben, to John Murray, "grome of his Maiesties bedchalmer,"¶ who was created Viscount of Annand, and Lord Murray of Lochmaben,**

* Caledonia, iii. 92. † Minstrelsy of the Border, i. 182. Chalm. Life of Mary, i. 155.

‡ Grose's Antiq. Scotl. p. 176.

|| Caledonia, iii. 101.

§ Ibid. p. 109, 110.

¶ Act Parl. iv. 419, 495.

** Crawford's Peerage, p. 10. Wood's Dougl. Peer. i. 69.

and afterwards Earl of Annandale. From him descended the noble family of Stormont, now merged in that of Mansfield. The title of Constable and Hereditary Keeper of the palace of Lochmaben is claimed, both by the Earl of Mansfield and by the representative of the Marquis of Annandale.*

During the troubles in the reign of Charles I., the Earl of Nithsdale (formerly Lord Maxwell,) having suffered greatly in consequence of his steady adherence to the king, was obliged to sell, not only great part of his estate, but also his offices of Stewart of Annandale, and Constable of Lochmaben Castle, with the lands and emoluments which were attached to the constabulary.† James Murray, the second Earl of Annandale, dying without issue, the honours of Lochmaben were, A. 1661, transferred to James Johnston, Earl of Hartfell.‡ During the seventeenth century, this ancient castle was allowed to fall into decay.

The governor had a salary of £300 Scotch, a considerable sum in former days, together with the fishing of the lochs. He had also, for the maintenance of the garrison, from every parish of Annandale, what was called *Laird a Mairt*, or, a *Lairdner Mart* Cow, which, it was required, should be one of the fattest that could be produced, besides thirty-nine meadow geese, and *Fasten's e'en* hens. A century has not elapsed since this tax was exacted. Although the right of fishing in all the lochs is granted, by a charter of James VI., to the borough of Lochmaben, yet the proprietors of the castle have always enjoyed the exclusive privilege of fishing in the castle and mill-lochs with boats, nets, &c.||

Lochmaben is a royal burgh; and, according to tradition, received this distinction from Robert I. He, it is said, gave the borough-lands out of his own estate. The ruins of the castle are surrounded by a large tract of land, called the Castlemains, in a very uncultivat-

* Stat. Acc. vii. 237, 238.

† Ibid. i. 74.

‡ Wood's Dougl. Peer. i. 69.

|| Ibid. Beauties of Scotl. ii. 273.

ed state. In former times, there was a deer-park, and a very extensive forest of oak. Contiguous to the Castlemains lies Lochmaben Barony, or, as it is more commonly called, *the Four Towns*, a very large fertile track on the banks of the Annan. The inhabitants of these "are termed the King's Rentallers, or *kindly tenants*; under which denomination each of them has a right, of an allodial nature, to a small piece of ground. It is said that these people are the descendants of Robert Bruce's menials, to whom he assigned, in reward of their faithful service, these portions of land, burdened only with the payment of certain quitrents, and grassums, or fines, upon the entry of a new tenant. The right of the rentallers is, in essence, a right of property; but, in form, only a right of lease; of which they appeal, for the foundation, to the rent-rolls of the lord of the castle and manor. —In the case of subjects granting a right of this kind, it was held to expire with the life of the granter, unless his heir chose to renew it; and also upon the death of the rentaller himself, unless especially granted to his heirs, by which term only his first heir was understood. —Fortunately for the inhabitants of the Four Towns of Lochmaben, the maxim, that the king can never die, prevents their right of property from reverting to the crown."*

Our good old Bellenden, in his translation of Boece, has given a very curious picture of the character of the ancient inhabitants of this district, and of the original reason of the erection of the castle. This would lose much of its zest, did I attempt to transpose it into modern language.

"In Annandail is ane loch namit Lochmaben, fyue^a mylis of lenth, and foure of breid,^b full of uncouth fische. Besyde this loch is ane castell, vnder the same name, maid to dant^c the incursion of theuis.^d For nocht allanerlie in Annandail, bot in all the dalis afore rehersit ar mony strang and wekit theuis, inuading the cuntré with perpetuall

* *Vide* Minstrelsy of the Border, i. 87. 88.

^a Five.

^b Breadth.

^c Repress.

^d Thieves.

thift, reif,^e & slauchter, quhen thay sé ony trublus tyme. Thir theuis (becaus thay haue Inglismen thair perpetuall ennymes lyand dry marche^f apon thair nixt bordour) inuadis Ingland with continewal weris,^g or ellis with quiet thift: and leiffis^h ay ane pure and misera-bill lyfe. In the tyme of peace, thay are so accustomit with thift, that thay can nocht desist, bot inuadis the cuntre—with ithand heir-schippis.ⁱ—This vail of Annand wes sum tyme namit Ordouitia, and the pepill namit Ordouices, quhais cruelteis wes sa gret, that thay abhorrit nocht to eit the flesche of yoldin^k prisoneris. The wyuis vsit to slay thair husbandis, quhen thay wer found cowartis, or discomfist be thair ennymes, to give occasioun to otheris to be more bald & hardy quhen danger occurrit.”*

Whatever might be their character in that early period, they have in later ages shewed at least a good deal of humour in their depredations. Of this we have an amusing proof in the ballad of the *Lochmaben Harper*, who, having been seized with a strong attachment to the Lord Warden's *Wanton Brown*, (his favourite riding horse,) made his way to Carlisle Castle, although blind, and so enchanted the whole company, and even the minions, by the charms of his music, that he found means, not only to send off the Warden's charger, but to persuade him, that while he was exerting himself to the utmost to gratify the company, some one had stole his own “gude gray mare,” and thus to secure far more than the value of all his pretended loss.

“ Allace ! allace ! ” quo’ the cunning auld harper,

“ And ever allace that I cam here !

In Scotland I lost a braw cowt foal ;

In England they’ve stown my gude gray mare ! ”

^e Rapine.

^g Wars.

ⁱ Continual depredations.

^f Without any body of water intervening.

^h Lives.

^k Who had yielded themselves.

* Croniklis, Descr. c. 5.

Then aye he harped, and aye he carped ;
Sae sweet were the harpings he let them hear :
He was paid for the foal he had never lost,
And three times ower for his " gude gray mare." *

* Border Minstrelsy, i. 82, &c.

KILDRYNNIE CASTLE IN WAIN





Designed by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

KILIDRUMMIE CASTLE IN NAIR.

Kildrummie.

THIS castle is situated in the district of Marr, in Aberdeenshire, near the river Don, thirty-six miles west from the city whence this county takes its name. It stands on an eminence, rising out of a level about three miles in length. The venerable ruins,—at first hidden by a rising ground,—as you approach them, burst at once on the view, so as to produce the finest effect. The plain, through which the Don seeks its winding course, is here dotted with knolls, some of which are covered with wood. On every side, lofty mountains form such a barrier, that the eye can discover no passage out of the *strath*.

The ground in the vicinity is moorish and barren. Here there are two small defiles, denominated the *north* and the *south glen*. The brook, which issues from the latter, washes the walls of the eminence on which the castle stands. The northern side was secured by the steep banks of the brook, which had been carried round the hill, on the east and south, by artificial moats, the remains of which are still to be seen.* On the western side, on the face of the eminence, the entrance to a subterraneous passage, which communicated with the interior of the fortress, is still visible, although now obstructed by rubbish. Old people in the neighbourhood, however, affirm that they have entered it; and state that it leads to apartments under the castle, so large and lofty as to admit of a man sitting upright on horseback.

* *Vide Stat. Acc. xviii. 417.*

within them. Although this passage is much above the present bed of the rivulet, it is believed that its channel was then level with the exterior opening. According to the local tradition, these vaults were used as stables, cellars, and prisons.

The castle covers about a Scotch acre ; although three acres, supplied by a draw-well, appear to have been included within the fortification. " It originally consisted," it is said, " but of one great circular tower, of five stories or floors, distinguished by the appellation of the *Snow Tower*, in the western corner of the present fabric, which was afterwards carried round a pretty spacious court, forming an unequal pentagon, in which six other towers, differing in magnitude and form, rose for the protection of the intervening buildings, which appear to have been but two stories in height. Two of these towers" seem to have been meant solely " for the security of the only gate,* placed in the western wall, occupying the whole space between them. The walls were four feet thick, built of run-lime, and the outside courses of freestone, regularly squared."† The only tower now standing is that to the north-west. Of the *Snow Tower*, which was situated on the south-west, the foundation only remains. The walls of the building are from ten to twelve feet in thickness.

" Among bleak hills," says Gough, " stand the magnificent ruins of Kildrummy Castle, commanding a deep glen." According to his intelligence, " the *Snow Tower* is near fifty yards high, of seven stones [*r. stories*], each thirty feet high. In the middle story a stone bench ranges round, with doors opening to it from the wall, whence it is called the Court-house. The walls," he adds, are " *eighteen* [eight, *qu.*] feet thick, now fallen in. On the north side is a magnificent hall, sixty paces by fifteen, called *Barnet's Hall*."‡

* From other accounts, however, it would appear that there was another entrance ; although this was the principal one, being guarded not only by the smaller towers referred to in the text, but by a draw-bridge.

† Stat. Acc. xviii. 417.

‡ Addit. to Camden's *Britannia*, iv. 173.

The chapel stood in the centre of the fortress, sixty feet in length, and in breadth twenty-four. Three of the windows are still very entire. This, if we may credit the tradition of the country, "was occupied as a magazine of forage during the noted siege by the forces of Edward I. in the year 1306." It is said, that "when Robert I. and his wife and daughter, made their escape, by means of the covered way, to the county of Ross, the besiegers despaired of success, when a piece of red-hot iron, thrown through one of the windows of the chapel into the forage, occasioned such distraction by the conflagration, that the castle was won by surprise and storm."* The remains of a burying-ground may be yet seen, on the north side of the castle, immediately under the windows of the chapel. Great quantities of bones have at different times been dug up in the neighbourhood, but scarcely any more valuable remnant of former ages.

This, in an early period, had been the property of the royal family: for David, the brother of William the Lion, and grandson of David I., was at the same time Earl of Huntington in England, and of Garvyach or Garioch in the north of Scotland.

This Dawy Erle was of lauch
Of Huntynghown, and Garvyauch.
Til Kyng Willame he wes brodyr.

WYNTOUN'S *Cron.* viii. 6. 235.

The venerable Prior of St Serfs says, that David was *of lauch*, or legally, heir of this earldom. This magnificent castle, during his time, was the capital mansion of the earldom of Garioch. With the daughter of this David, it went to the family of Bruce; and from them, with the sister of King Robert I., to the family of Marr. Then it became the capital of Marr, as well as of Garioch.† It must have

* Stat. Acc. *ut sup.*—Perhaps more credit is due to Barbour's account of this fatal act. He ascribes it to Osborn, a traitor within the garrison.

† Vide D. Macpherson's Geogr. Illustr. vo. *Kildrummy*.

been part of the royal demesnes during the reign of Alexander II. For this prince having appointed St Gilbert, Bishop of Caithness, to be his treasurer in the north of Scotland, the latter, "dureing the space he had this office, built the castle and fortresse of *Kildrume*, in Marr, with seaven tours within the precinct of the said castle."* What is here said can only be understood of the great additions made, by this good bishop, to the original tower.

The next mention that I find made of this fortress refers to the period of the usurpation of Edward I. In his progress through Scotland, A. 1303,† he was at *Kyndromyn*, Oct. 8. and 9. There can be no doubt that Kildrummie is meant; as he proceeded to Kynlos, in Moray, on the 10th, and to Elgin on the 11th of the same month. This, in the *Scala Chronicon*, is denominated *Kyndronn*.

Our accurate annalist, Lord Hailes, has remarked that, after the unfortunate slaughter of Comyn at Dumfries, Bruce "had not a single fortress at his command but the castle of Kildrummie; and *that*," he justly subjoins, "was at too great a distance to be serviceable." From this circumstance he infers, with great appearance of truth, that Bruce had no premeditated intention to take away the life of Comyn; and that he had formed no plans, and concerted no measures, for making his claim to the Scottish crown effectual.‡

The intelligent writer of the Statistical Account has fallen into a mistake here, in supposing that Bruce himself, as well as the Queen, escaped from Kildrummie during its siege by the English, A. 1306: for our illustrious prince did not himself seek refuge here after his defeat in the battle of Methven, but wandered among the mountains of Perthshire, with a very few adherents, among whom was his brother Edward. As winter was approaching, he sent a younger brother, Nigel, with the Earl of Athole, to conduct the Queen, and ladies in her suite, to Kildrummie, as they could neither bear the fatigue of tra-

* Gordon's Genealog. Hist. Earldom of Sutherland, p. 32.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, i. 53.

‡ Annals, i. 194.

velling, nor find sufficient sustenance. Our good old Barbour accordingly gives us the following account:—

—Thai war ay in sa hard trawail,
Till the ladyis began to fayle,
That mycht the trawail drey ^a na mar.—
With that in hy to him callyt he
Thaim, that till him war mast priué: ^b
Then amang thaim thai thocht it best,—
That the queyne, and the erle alsua,
And the ladyis, in hy suld ga, ^c
With Nele the Bruce, till Kildromy.
For thaim thocht thai mycht sekyrly ^d
Duell thar, quhill ^e thai war wictaillit weile: ^f
For swa ^g stalwart wes the castell,
That it with strenth war hard to get,
Quhill ^h that thar in war men and mete. ⁱ
As thai ordanyt thai did in hy.

THE BRUCE, B. ii. v. 697, &c. *Edit.* 1820.

The queen, and Lady Marjory, the daughter of Bruce by a former marriage, afterwards dreading to be besieged here, fled to the sanctuary of St Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire; but the Earl of Ross violated the sanctuary, and delivered them to the English. The castle was afterwards besieged by the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford. The magazine being treacherously burnt, the garrison, deprived of provisions, surrendered at discretion. The young and handsome Nigel was condemned and executed at Berwick by the English; Christopher Seton, who had married Bruce's sister, and his brother Alexander, met with the same fate at Newcastle. The Earl of Athole received the death of a traitor at London.* The King did not learn the mourn-

^a Endure. ^b Intimate with. ^c Go. ^d Securely. ^e Till.
^f Well victualled. ^g So. ^h While. ⁱ Provision.

* *Vide Hailes' Annals*, 169, i. 3, 14.

ful tidings till he had resided for some time in Carrick. He had his information from a lady, who was a near relation of his own.

—Scho him tauld, sichand full sar, ^a
 How that his brothyr takyn war
 In the castell off Kyldromy,
 And destroyit sa welanusly ; ^b
 And the Erle of Athall alsua :
 And how the queyne, and othyr ma, ^c
 That till his party war heldand, ^d
 War tane, and led in ^e England,
 And put in feloun presoune, ^f &c.

THE BRUCE, B. iv. p. 93.

As Perth had been taken by Edward Baliol, after the fatal battle of Dupplin, he entrusted the keeping of it to the Earl of Fife. Being retaken, a few months after, by the loyalists, Fife, with his lady and children, was sent to Kildrummie, to be imprisoned there. *

The compiler of the *Scala Chronicon* having learned that King Robert, after his repeated defeats, had retired to Cantire, and also that some of his family had been subsequently besieged, erroneously transfers the siege, and the capture of the queen, to the west of Scotland, although without naming the place. "Robert Bruse," he says, "hym self fled into Kentire, wither [whither] the Englisch men folowid hym, and besegid the fortres of it, supposing that Bruse had beene in it. But when they had taken it, thei founnde hym not: but there they toke his wife, the doughter of the Counte of Hulster, and Neil, his brother. And a non was the Counte of Athelis taken, that fled from the aforesaid fortres."

He, however, afterwards gives an account of the siege of Kildrum-

^a Sighing sore.

^b Villanously.

^c More besides.

^d Adhering.

^e Into.

^f Severe imprisonment.

* Abercromby's Mart. Atchiev. ii. 38.

mie, although inaccurately in respect of the prisoners said to have been taken there.

“ Thomas, Counte de Lancastre, and Humfrede de Bouhun, Counte of Hereford, passid the montayns of Scotland, and assegid the *castel* of *Kyndronn*, yn Marre, and wan it, and there toke Christopher de Seton, with his wife, sister to Robert Bruse, the wich, as an Englisch renegade, was sent to Dunfres, and ther hangid, drauen, and quarterid.” *

David Comyn, Earl of Athol, having, A. 1335, renounced his allegiance to David Bruce, and joined himself to Edward Baliol, was, by the English faction, made governor of Scotland. He acted very insolently and tyrannically towards all the adherents of the family of Bruce; in consequence of which William, Earl of Sutherland, with the rest of the loyal nobility, appeared in arms against him. He, “ vn-derstanding that the lords were assembled against him, left the siege of Kildrummie, in Marr, which then he had in hand, and with thrie thousand men he gave them battell in the forrest of Kilblane. After a sharp and cruell fight, Earle David wes overthrowne” and slain. †

The castle of Kildrummy was at this time under the charge of Lady Christian Bruce, who was married, first, to Gratney, Earl of Marr; secondly, to Sir Christopher Seton; and thirdly, to Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. ‡ Boethius mentions her as *praelect* of the castle of *Kildrummé*. || Abercromby designs her “an heroick lady;” and Lord Hailes, in reference to the time of this siege, says that “the castle of Kildrummy” had been “hitherto the asylum of the loyalists.” § We find it in possession of the family of Marr, A. 1403. For Isabella, Countess of Marr, and Lady of Garioch, in her own right, gives a confirmation of a former grant of land to the abbey of Aberbrothock, which is dated at Kyndromy, 27th May 1403. ¶ During the next

* Scal. Chron. Leland's Collectanea, i. 542, 543.

† Geneal. Hist. Sutherland, p. 48. Hailes' Annals, ii. 184.

‡ Wood's Peerage, i. 319.

|| Hist. Scot. Fol. 328, 6.

§ Abercromby ii. 38. Annals ii. 184.

¶ Chart. Aberbrothock, vol. ii. fol. 7.

year, Alexander Stewart, a natural son of the Earl of Buchan, having cast his eyes on the Countess, stormed her castle of Kildrummie, and either by violence, or by persuasion, obtained her in marriage. August 12, 1304, she made over her earldom of Marr and Garioch, with all her other lands, to the said Alexander Stewart, "and the heirs to be procreated between him and her, whom failing, to his heirs and assignees whatever." It is supposed, that Alexander, finding that the measures he had taken were too strong, presented himself, September 19th, of the same year, at the castle-gate of Kildrummie, and surrendered to the Countess, not only the castle, but all its furniture, and the title-deeds, delivering the keys into her hands. She, on December 9th of this year, granted a charter to this Alexander, as her husband, in presence of Alexander, Bishop of Ross, and the haill tenants, *in the fields*, without the castle of Kildrummie.* This form was adopted, that it might appear to have been granted without force on the part of her husband, and without fear on hers.†

In succeeding times this was still considered as royal property. For, in the reign of James II., A. 1437, an act of Parliament having been passed, that no lands nor possessions *belonging to the king* be given to any man without consent of the three estates, till the king should be twenty-one years of age, it was agreed, in the year 1440, "for the good and quiet of the land, that the king should deliver up to Robert, Lord Erskine, calling himself Earl of Marr, the castle of Kildrummie, to be kept by him till the king's majority, when the said lord should come before the king, and the three estates, and show his rights and claims as far as law will. A. 1442, Earl Robert took a protest at Stirling, in presence of the king and council, complaining against the chancellor for refusing to retour him to the lordship of Garioch, and put him in possession of the castle of Kildrummie. He afterwards besieged and took this castle. In 1448, in consequence of a new in-

* Extra castrum nostrum de *Kyndromy*, non in eadem clausa vel detenta.

† *Vide* Addit. Case Countess of Sutherland, p. 45, 46.

denture, Lord Erskine obliged himself to deliver it up." A. 1485-6, Alexander, third son of James III., had a charter, granting to him all the lands and earldoms of Marr and Garvloch, with the castle of Kildrummie.* The earldom of Marr was restored to John, Lord Erskine, A. 1565, after the family had been deprived of it for 130 years.†

This castle, we learn, "was burnt in Cromwell's wars; and the new house, built by the lords of Elphinston on the south side, by the Highlanders at the Revolution. It continued the seat of the Marr family."‡

The name of Kildrummie, it has been said, is purely Celtic, signifying "the little burial mount."|| It seems, indeed, to correspond with the situation; as the castle stands on a small eminence. As Gael. and Ir. *cil* appears to have been primarily applied to the *cell*, or retired residence, and afterwards to the *grave*, of one accounted a saint, it might be conjectured that a person of this description had resided here, long before it became the seat of baronial or regal power. But I know of no saint in our calendar, whose name has any resemblance. It may be doubted, however, whether *Kildrummie* has not originally been a vulgar modification of *Kyndromy*; which might seem to have been its most ancient form, being that in which it appears, not only in the *Rotuli*, but in the Chartulary of Aberbrothock. According to this orthography, it might be traced to Gael. *ceann*, *cinn*, head, and *druim*, in genitive *droma*, the ridge of a hill, *q*. "the head," or "summit of the ridge," which had been the site of the most ancient tower erected here.

In the map of the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, by Gordon of Straloch, the name of this fortress is by mistake given as *Kurdrummie*, which was probably written *Kindrummie*, especially as *Kinbetach*, *Keanacraig*, and *Kincraigie*, appear in the vicinity; and, a little

* Mag. Sig. L. xi. No. 53.

† Camden's Britannia, iv. 173.

† Vide Wood's Peerage, ii. 204-206.

|| Stat. Acc. xviii. 411.

farther down the river, *Kinethmont*. In the description, which is taken from Camden's *Britannia*, the name is *Kildrummy*.*

I have observed, in another work, that "in a MS. formerly belonging to Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, Lyon King at Arms, now in the library of the Advocates, the title of the *Snowdoun Herald* is derived from Snowdoun castle of the county of Rosse, the residence of our ancient Scottish kings;" adding, that I had "met with no other vestige of this castle."† Nisbet also has said, "Snowdown [*Herald*] is named from Snowdown Castle in the shire of Ross, and the residence of our ancient Scots kings."‡ According to this idea of the origin, one county, of no great eminence, had the honour of giving names to two distinct heralds. For Nisbet adds; "Ross herald, so named from the county of Ross, which was of old an appendage of the crown."

When the work above referred to was published, I had not met with the fact already mentioned in this account, that the original and principal part of the castle of Kildrummie has been, as would seem, from time immemorial, "distinguished by the appellation of the *Snow Tower*." As some of our writers have paid no great attention to the geography of the northern parts of Scotland, Balfour and Nisbet seem to have substituted Ross for a county nearly adjacent, another only intervening. For what can the Snowdown, or more properly Snawdon, denote, but the white tower of Kildrummie, or rather the whole castle, denominated from its principal defence? It seems merely a translation of what would be the Gaelic form of the name,—*Sneachd-dun*; from *sneachd* snow, and *dun* a fortified hill.

Of the term *Snadown*, as used by Barbour, D. Macpherson gives the following explanation:—"A part of the castle of Kildrummy, probably appropriated to the knightly ceremonies grafted on the legends of king Arthur's round table, and apparently the same which is now

* Bleau's Atlas, Scot. p. 99.

† The Bruce and Wallace, v. i. 439.

‡ Heraldry, ii. Part iv. 166.

called *Snow Tower*." But this idea is not so natural as most of the conjectures of this intelligent annotator. For it would appear that this tower had received its name, in a very unpolished age, before our ancestors were much acquainted with works of romance. Besides, as this was the most ancient, and by far the largest, of all the buildings of the fortress, it is by no means probable that it would be denominated from its being occasionally used as the scene of "knightly ceremonies." It is evident, from the language of Barbour, that the English, after their success in the siege of Kildrummy, in order to prevent future annoyance, as they could not afford to leave a garrison in a place so distant, demolished a considerable part of this tower, as having made the most effectual resistance.

———— All a quarter off Snawdoun,
Rycht till the erd, thai tummyllyt down.

THE BRUCE, B. iii. v. 410.

Sir Robert Gordon, in what he calls his *New Description of the Praefecture of Aberdeen and Banff*, having spoken of Innerbuchet, adds; "At the distance of three miles is that ancient castle of Kildrummy, and, as it is believed, the work of our early kings, distinguished for the solidity of its walls, and for the number and strength of its towers, in these remote ages viewed as impregnable."* This corresponds with the account given of it by Camden: "On the bank of the Don is Kildrummy, a great ornament to it, and the ancient seat of the earls of Marr."†

I shall conclude my remarks on Kildrummy with a quotation from the elegant work of Cordiner, to whom his native country is much indebted for the pains he has taken to preserve the memory of its antiquities. "This noble ruin," he says, "is situated in the interior parts of Aberdeenshire.—The sullen grandeur of its decaying walls,

* Bleau, Scot. p. 110.

† Britannia, iv. 165.

and mouldering towers, command a solemn respect ; and one can hardly fail to enter with awe into the lofty and desolated courts of that once splendid and sumptuous habitation. To pervade the deserted and moss-grown halls, where princes oft have met, to weigh the measures of state, or hold the gay carousal ; and where now nothing but silence and desolation reign, impresses such ideas of the transient estate of human life and all its vanities, as inspires that degree of solemnity of thought, which supplies the mind with some conscious greatness, in contemplating its own composure, amid the memorials of the perishable estate of all human grandeur.

“ The stile of the whole building is truly superb and majestic, equally expressive of a princely taste, in consulting its magnificence, as of cautious regard to its security, and defence as an impregnable and spacious fortress.—The grandeur of its ample plan could correspond with nothing else, than its being designed as a principal residence and palace to the kings of Scotland, where they might safely keep their court in the most troublesome times.”

He subjoins, in regard to the “ heroic lady” formerly mentioned : “ In 1333, Kildrummy Palace was occupied by the venerable Christiana Bruce, sister of Robert I., which her allies and friends aided her to defend against all the attacks of the enemy, so that she was left in peaceful possession of the surrounding country.” *

It has been remarked, that “ the names of some of the farms in the vicinity of the castle, indicate them to have been allocated for the support of the respective offices of that ancient establishment, such as Cook’s hill, Gardener’s hill,” &c. †

Before leaving this interesting ground, it may be proper to observe, that it exhibits some remains of antiquity, obviously far more ancient

* Remarkable Ruins, i. Sign. E e. Cordiner has given a very distinct drawing of the remains.

† Stat. Acc. xviii. 415, 416.

than those of the castle. About a mile to the north-east of it, in a level moor of considerable extent, a number of subterraneous habitations have from time to time been discovered, of the same kind with those, in the Orkney islands, denominated PICTS HOUSES. They are spread over the space of a mile or two in diameter. Between forty and fifty have already been opened. They are on a perfect level with the surrounding ground, so as to be most frequently discovered by the plough striking against some of the large stones which form the roof. The only opening to them seems to have been between two large stones, placed in a sloping direction at one end, and about eighteen inches asunder, rising perhaps only a few inches above the plain, so as to be scarcely perceptible. By sliding down obliquely through this narrow opening, to the depth of five or six feet, one reaches a large vault, generally about the same height, upwards of thirty feet long, and from eight to nine feet wide. The walls are built of rude uncut stones, without any cement, but so closely wedged together, that the smallest of them cannot be moved from its place by the strength of the hand. They form a curve, bending inwards, so as to approach very nearly to a complete arch; large stones, five or six feet in length, being laid over the opposite walls, by way of roof. They are covered by a thin layer of earth; and are so level with the ground, that one passes over them without any suspicion that he is walking over the habitations of his ancestors. What affords a strong indication that these were inhabited only during winter, is, that, in many instances, adjoining to each of these caverns, there is a small square inclosure, of ten or fifteen paces each way, dug a foot or two deep, with the earth thrown outwards. *

* *Vide* Stat. Acc. xviii. 419, 420; also a very particular and accurate account of those subterraneous dwellings, communicated to the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, by my late learned friend, John Stuart, Esq. Professor of Greek, Marischal College, Aberdeen; and published, in the Society's Transactions, vol. ii. Part i. p. 53-55.



THE PALACE

Engraved by W. H. Miller



DUNFERMLINE PALACE.

Dunfermline.

WHILE some of the residences of our ancient kings have never had the honour of being called *Palaces*, however well entitled to it; others, to which this distinction has been vouchsafed, have been almost entirely overlooked, as if they had been merely pretenders; for no other reason, as would seem, than because they have never been nominally blazoned as under the guardianship of any *Hereditary Keeper*. If this be deemed, and in some instances contended for, as an honorary title, it is to be regretted that those who claim it, have, in general, afforded so little practical evidence of their conviction of its value.

The honours, justly due to the celebrated abbey of Dunfermline, have, in a great measure, overshadowed those of the adjoining palace. The religious foundation here, is, indeed, of great antiquity. For a priory was erected at this place by Malcolm Canmore, which was afterwards, by David I., A. 1124, raised to the dignity of an abbey. It was originally dedicated, like other Culdean establishments, to the Holy Trinity. There is abundant proof, that the same, or similar, means were employed for ejecting the Culdees from Dunfermline, as from Scone, St Andrews, and other places.* But as they gloried in acknowledging no devotion to the creature, they publicly avowed their integrity in this respect, in every instance in which they affixed

* *Vide* History of the Anc. Culdees, p. 165. 281, &c. Dalrymple's Coll. p. 383.

their conventual seal to any deed. For, as late as the year 1200, it bore no other inscription, but *Sigillum Sancte Trinitatis*, or *Sigill. Capituli Ecclie Sce Trinitatis de Dunfermelin.** In 1244, it was admitted, by the Pope, to the honour of being a mitred abbey. Its chartulary is preserved, in the library of the Advocates, at Edinburgh.

So large and magnificent was this edifice, that, according to the testimony of an English historian, it might be said "to contain many royal palaces within itself, so that three distinguished sovereigns, with their different suites, could all, at the same time, be accommodated in it, without causing the slightest inconvenience the one to the other."† Here Edward I., with his Queen and court, passed the winter of 1303. According to the *Rotuli*, he remained at *Dunfermelyn* from November 11th to the 4th of March 1303-4. He was also there for a single day on the 1st of May 1304.‡ Old Hardyng, in his ramb-ling rhyme, attests this fact, although he seems rather to err as to the year. He speaks of Edward's desolations with great coolness.—

———— Kyng Edward then in to Scotlande went,
Through all Catnesse destroyed [it] in greate hete,
The monthes hye ^a and out ysles [strayte] he shent,
Tyll they obeyed all hole his regiment,
And wyntred then at Dunfermlin abbey,
Where Saint Margarete is worschipped euer and aye.

HARDYNG'S CHRONICLE, p. 300.

The English historian above referred to gives an amusing account of the manner in which his countrymen settled their bill for the ample and splendid accommodation they had so long enjoyed here. "Therefore, *propter nimiam capacitatem loci*, on account of the excessive extent

* Abbreviated for *Sigillum Capituli Ecclesie Sancte*, &c. "The seal of the Chapter of the Church of the Holy Trinity of Dunfermline." *Vide* Fernie's Hist. of Dunfermline, p. 78. † Matth. Westminst. p. 446. ‡ Rotuli Scot. i. 53, 54.

^a High mountains.

of the place, the Scottish nobles were wont to assemble here, and to frame their machinations against the king of England; and the greatest part of them, in the time of war, breaking forth as from places of ambush, addicted themselves to robberies and slaughter of the English people. 'The king's army therefore'—doubtless, not without his approbation—"seeing that the temple of the Lord was not a church, but a den of thieves, as a beam in the eye of the English nation, applying to the walls the line of consumption, thoroughly wasted it, levelling all the palaces with the soil. The church, however, and a few small houses, *properly becoming* monks, were preserved from the flames," or, as Lord Hailes humourously expresses it, "were graciously spared by the English reformers." *

I cannot avoid remarking, that this single act shews, as much as a thousand volumes could do, the savage, and at the same time the contemptible, spirit by which those were actuated, who claimed a paramount authority over this independent kingdom. Was there no other place, in which the nobles of Scotland could possibly meet, for plotting against the usurpations of Edward, if this magnificent building was laid in ruins? What eye is so dim, as not to penetrate the thinness of the veil which is here thrown over as barbarous an act as ever was perpetrated by any of the hordes that overran the Roman empire; and which to the very perpetrators must have appeared an act of unparalleled sacrilege? The historian has inadvertently told the truth. This magnificent structure was indeed an eye-sore to the haughty Norman, not viewed without envy; for by some it has been asserted that this monastery was the greatest and noblest in Scotland.† The same spirit of insolent contempt seems to have pervaded the mass of slavish invaders. For this account forcibly brings to recollection the coarse but graphic picture given, by Henry the Minstrel, of one of

* Annals, i. 276.

† Vide Fernie's Dunfermline, p. 179.

them, Selby the constable of Dundee, whose pride took offence at the gay dress of young Wallace, so that he called to him ;—

— Thou Scot, abyde ;

Quha dewill thé grathis in so gay a gyde ? ^a

Ane Ersche mantill it war thi kynd to wer ; ^b

A Scottis thewtill ^c wndyr thi belt to ber ;

Rouch rewlynis ^d apon thi harlot fete.

Gyff me thi knyff ; quhat dois thi ger so mete ? ^e

WALLACE, B. i. v. 215.

It has been supposed, with apparent reason, that, after this cruel visitation by the English, the abbey never again attained its former splendour. It may seem strange, indeed, that after the victory gained over England, none of our princes made any attempt to repair the desolations made by the tyrants. But whatever inclination any of our princes,—under the influence of national pride, or resentment of the gross insult offered to Scotland,—might have had to restore this magnificent building ; the extent of the destruction, as well as the generally unsettled state of the kingdom from minorities and otherwise, with the exhausted state of the treasury, must have proclaimed the folly of such an attempt. What remained of the abbey was demolished at the Reformation. For “vpoun the 28 day” of March 1560, “the wholl lordis and barrones that war on this syd of Forth, passed to Stirling, and be the way kest down the abbey of Dumfermling.” * Lesly, bishop of Ross, describes the general demolition in stronger terms : “As Scotland was now blazing in one flame of war, the sectarians, whoused religion as a pretext for their crimes,—wasted the monasteries of Dunfermline, Melros, Kelso, and a great many more, in the most

^a Who, in the devil's name, decks thee in such gay attire ?

to wear.

^c Knife of the coarsest kind, vulgarly a *whittle*.

leather, with the hair on them.

^b Become thy kindred

^d Shoes of untanned

^e Of what use is such proper *gear* for thee ?

* Pitscottie's Hist. ii. 555, Edit. 1814.

miserable manner." * It was undoubtedly a pretty general maxim among our reformers, that it was "best to burn the nests, lest the craws^a should come and big^b again." But in regard to Dunfermline, they had exercised more forbearance, and shewed more foresight, than in some other instances; in which, from the excess of their zeal for abolishing every remnant of superstition, they left themselves totally destitute of any place of worship. For the church was preserved. Part of this is probably as old as the era of David I., if not of Canmore. For, while some parts of the structure exhibit the Saracenic, or what has been called the Gothic, plan of architecture, the Saxon appears in others. Scarcely any vestige of the abbey remains, save a large and elegant window, which belonged to the *Frater-hall* or Refectory. A considerable part of the ground, on which the consecrated buildings formerly stood, was by James VI. converted into a bowling-green.

It would appear, that the existence of a royal manor here gave rise to the religious foundation. For Malcolm Canmore resided in a tower or castle, erected on the insulated hill in the glen, opposite to Pittencrieff, of which a small fragment yet remains, once part of a wall, but now almost level with the ground. It has, we are informed, been very thick; and the stones, which are small, are strongly cemented with lime mixed with sea-sand, now as hard as the stones themselves. The steep eminence on which the castle has been built, rises abruptly out of the glen, and causes the rivulet to wind round its base, thus forming a peninsula. † "There is a popular story," Grose informs us, "of a subterraneous passage from it to the monastery." ‡ But this idea is, by the vulgar, so commonly connected with ancient structures, that it deserves little regard.

It has been supposed, that the town derived its name from the first religious foundation, erected there, having possibly been an hospital;

* De Orig. Scotor. Lib. x. p. 527.

^a Rooks.

^b Build.

† Mercer's Dunfermline Abbey, p. 109, 110.

‡ Antiq. of Scotl. i. 288.

especially as, in some ancient manuscripts, it is designed, *Monasterium de Monte Infirmorum*. * But for this conjecture there seems to be no ground. There is, on the contrary, every reason to believe, that there was no religious foundation, of any description, here, till Canmore had chosen it as the place of his residence: and the site of his castle corresponds far better with the apparent signification of the name, than that of the supposed hospital, or subsequent abbey. For *Dunferlin*, or *Dunfarlin*, the vulgar pronunciation, has been traced to Gaelic *Dun*, a fortified hill, *fiar* crooked, and *lin* a pool or waterfall; which is quite analogous to the character of the abrupt hill on which the castle stood. In the form of *Dunfermlin*, it might be resolved into *Dun*, and *foirm*, a murmuring noise, as if meant to signify, “the hill of the noisy pool” or “water.” † In Irish, however, *foirm* signifies dark, obscure; ‡ which exactly corresponds with the appearance of the water. It has been Latinized *Fermalinodunum*, and *Dunum Fermalini*. ||

James Hunt, Esq. of Pittencreeff, the proprietor of the ground, has done all in his power for preserving the slender remains of this ancient fortress; having formed a strong fence of stone on both sides of the brook, which confines it within its natural channel, and prevents those ravages on the bases of the steep declivities, which would otherwise much deface and injure them. §

This fortified hill, then, forms a very interesting object. For here lived, in all the fidelity and tenderness of connubial love, the celebrated Malcolm Canmore, and his excellent queen, Margaret, the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, King of England, whose memory was so much revered, after her death, that she was not only canonized by the Pope, but universally acknowledged as the *Patroness* of Scotland, dividing the supposed honours of protection, as appears from the me-

* Spotiswood's Relig. Houses, p. 246, 247, 4to. Edit. Vide Hist. Anc. Culdees, p. 165.

† Vide Stat. Acc. xiii. 428.

‡ O'Reilly's Dictionary.

|| Buchanan. Hist. Lib. vii. 22, 26, et Ind. Irvin. Nomenclat. in vo.

§ Mercer, *ubi sup.*

dals still extant, with St Andrew the Apostle. Of her it has been justly said, that her "real merit far exceeds the fame of those idle miracles, which have been ascribed to her in later times : for she was truly religious, virtuous, and charitable. As a wife and mother, she was most affectionate. To her piety, the church owed a reformation from many abuses. By her exemplary manners, as well as by her taste, the court was purified from much of the vice and barbarism that had prevailed. By her beneficence, the poor and the orphan, abounding in those days of turbulence, were daily relieved. The Normans and Saxons, who fled from the tyranny of William [the Conqueror,] were hospitably received and provided for : and numbers of English, who were scattered over Scotland in a state of slavery, were redeemed from bondage." *

Fordun inform us, that, in the year 1070, the nuptials of this truly honourable pair were "magnificently celebrated in a place called Dunfermelyn, which the king then held, *pro oppido*, as his fortified residence. For that place was naturally fortified in itself, being surrounded with the thickest wood, and fenced with abrupt rocks." † According to Turgot, or as others assert, Theodoric, it was posterior to their marriage, that the religious structure was erected. For he says of the queen ; "Immediately after she had reached the pinnacle of honour, in the place where her nuptials were celebrated, she erected a church in honour of the Holy Trinity." ‡

A little to the south-east of the tower above described, a palace was afterwards built, in a most romantic situation, close over the verge of the glen. The S. W. wall of the palace still remains a monument of the magnificent fabric, of which it is a part ; and tradition continues to point out the chimney of the apartment where that unfortunate monarch Charles I. was born. || So early as the year 1585, James VI. occasionally resided here. For, before the proposal of an alliance by

* Sibbald's Fife, Edit. 1803, N. p. 245.

† Scotichron. Lib. v. c. 17.

‡ Pinkertoni Vitæ Sanctorum Scotiæ, p. 334, 335. Vide Sletzer's Theatrum, p. 50, &c.

|| Stat. Acc. xiii. 448.

marriage with Denmark, the Danish ambassadors "at Domfermeling—congratulat his Maieste, in the K. their masters name, with a lang discours of the auld amytie, band and mutuall frendship betwen the twa kingis and ther kingdommes."* The date of this structure is unknown. We are told, however, that, "in 1812, there was discovered on the inside of the top of one of the high windows, a representation, in stone, of the appearance of the Angel to the virgin Mary; and bearing the date of the year 1100."—"The date," it is subjoined, "is plain, and expressed in Arabic characters."† There must be some error here; as it is a well-known fact that the characters, called Arabic, were not introduced into Europe before the year 1230.‡ Many mistakes have been committed in reading dates in figures, because of the change of the forms given them by common sculptors in different ages, and often from the accidental loss of part of one of the characters. It is admitted, that the inscription on the stone, on which the doubtful date appears, which is evidently a part of the Angel's salutation, and of Mary's answer, as it contains abbreviations of the Latin words, is "a good deal defaced."|| From an accurate drawing of the description, however, for which I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Mr Hunt, the date certainly appears to be 1100. The only idea I can form is, that it had been engraved at a later period, on no better authority than the mere conjecture that it might bear so early a date.

It has been erroneously stated by Grose, in connexion with what he says of Malcolm Canmore's castle; "A palace was afterwards built on the side next the town, which falling to decay, was rebuilt by Anne of Denmark, as appears by the following inscription:

"Propylaeum et superstructas aedes vetustate et injuriis temporum, collapsas dirutasque; a fundamentis in hanc ampliorem formam re-

* Sir J. Melville's Memoirs, Bannat. Edit. 1827, p. 236.

† Fernie's Dunfermline, p. 69.

‡ Edin. Encyclop. vol. ii. 375.

|| Fernie's Dunfermline, p. 69.

stituit, et instauravit ANNA Regina FREDERICI DANORUM, Regis Augustissimi Filia : anno salutis 1600."

"A gateway," he adds, "intervenes between the royal residence and the Abbey Church." * But this facetious antiquary, from want of better information, has confounded the second palace, (as it may be called, in contradistinction from that built by Canmore,) with what was commonly called the *Queen's House*. The inscription, given by him, referred solely to the latter. In the account published by one of the ministers of Dunfermline, who resided long on the spot, it is said ; "*Adjoining to the palace*, was a house built by Queen Anne of Denmark, consort of James VI. in 1600. On the front of the house was the following inscription, &c." † He then gives the words above quoted from Grose. "The Queen's House," we are assured, "continued in good repair long after the palace was in ruins." About seventy years ago, it was occupied as an academy ; and *part* of it was inhabited so late as the year 1778 ; but the roof having been suffered to become ruinous, the building was sold, and being made a quarry for stones, was entirely removed A. 1797. ‡

There is an obvious reason for this building being distinctively called *the Queen's House*. James having, before his marriage, while he was at Upslo in Norway, A. 1589, given to Anne, by contract, or *in form of morrowing gift*, or *morning-gift*, the whole lordship of Dunfermline, with all baronies, landis, principall mansioun-houssis, &c. which he afterwards confirmed by charter ; this donation not being under the notion of a dowry, on the possession of which she was to enter after the demise of the king, but her present personal property ; it would appear that it was her wish to have a mansion of her own, distinct from that which might be occupied by the royal family in general, when residing here. As Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, was, in the year 1596, appointed irrevocable keeper, guardian, or constable,

* Grose's Antiq. Scot. ii. 288.

† Fernie's Dunfermline, p. 70.

‡ Stat. Acc. *ubi sup.* Fernie, *ut sup.*

of the Palace of Dunfermline, to take care that “the palace, with all the *edifices* belonging to it, should be kept in good order, lest, by negligence, or the injuries of time, it should happen that any of them might fall;” it seems most probable, that this had taken place, either before or after the royal donation, as to that part of the royal property, which was the site of the Queen’s House; and that it is said to have been *restored*, from its very foundation, *by* her Majesty, as having been done at her command, and, by Lord Dunfermline her constable, at her expence, out of the revenues arising from this lordship. For, in the charter of the Queen, confirming to him this appointment, he is expressly empowered to “overlook the workmen employed in the building or reparation of the said palace, and *edifices* of the same, masons, carpenters, slaters, or others, that these buildings might be kept in a proper state *at her expence*.”

The Act of Parliament, ratifying this charter, contains a ludicrous minuteness in regard to the care required of the noble keeper of the royal property; which, though not of any importance in itself, may amuse the reader. It respects the various *lochs* belonging to this lordship, as Lochfittie, Blaikloch, &c. It is expedient, that, “with equal care and diligence all and sundry *our* lochs, lying within *our* lordship, and the shireffdom of Fife, be kept; lest running and wandering fishes, begotten, or about to procreate in the said lochs, should become a prey.”* This, undoubtedly, refers to those which run up to the sources of rivers for the purpose of depositing their spawn.

It has been said, that “Alexander III. must have occasionally made Dunfermline his abode; as, in order to free his residence from the intrusions and claims of the monks, he granted to the abbey the lands of Dollar, in exchange for all the gifts which they were wont to demand from *his* kitchen, and that of his Queen. Dunfermline was not singular in this claim; for similar compositions were made to

* Ne erronee et vagabundi pisces in dictis lacubus genitos seu gignendos depredentur. Act. Ja. VI. vol. iv. 348—352.

[with] the monasteries of Scone and Kelso.”* King Robert I. had a son born at Dunfermline, on the 5th of May 1323-4. This was David his successor.† As this happened twenty-one years after the destruction of the abbey by Edward, it has been inferred, that “the building had been, in that interval, so far repaired, as to be fit for accommodating the Queen and her household, in such an interesting situation.”

David Bruce had occasionally visited Dunfermline. For we find various charters granted by him, dated here, one December 30th, in the fourteenth year of his reign; another, October 1st of the thirty-fourth; a third, June 12th of the thirty-ninth.‡ Some charters by Robert II. have a similar date;|| and a considerable number by his successor. Pitscottie records one visit by Queen Mary to this place. “Vpoun the third day of March [1561] the queine past out of Edinburgh to Dumfermling, and syne to Dysart, and to Durie, and the sixth day of the said moneth cam to Sanct Andros, and remained thair ane space.”§

Icolmkill had, for many centuries, been the place of royal sepulture. But, if we may here credit the testimony of Boece, Malcolm Canmore, by the persuasion of Turgot, not only erected “a temple to the Trinity at Dunfermline, but gave his sanction that it should henceforth be the common cemetery of the kings of Scotland.”¶ Here Malcolm himself was buried, and also his eldest son Edward. The latter, “having fallen in the forest of Jedwood, was carried to Dunfermline, and buried in the church of the Holy Trinity there, near his father, before the altar of the Holy Cross.”** His father, indeed, had been first interred at Tinemouth; as he had met his fate before the castle of Alnwick. But many years afterwards, his body was raised, and

* Mercer's Dunfermline Abbey, p. 153.

† Hailes' Annals, ii. 114. Fordun Lib. xii. c. 5.

‡ Reg. Mag. Sig. p. 126. 31.

|| Ibid. p. 100.

§ Pitscottie, p. 560.

¶ Boeth. Hist. Lib. xii. c. 12.

** Fordun. Scotichr. Lib. v. c. 25.

translated, by his son Alexander to Dunfermline.* The truly excellent Queen Margaret died in the castle of Edinburgh; and was, according to Wyntoun, first buried before the altar above mentioned, which he denominates the *Rwde Awtare* in the *Kyrk* of Dunfermline, beside the dust of her royal husband, but translated, a century after, into the *Qwere*. He adds, that the feast of her translation is still observed, with great veneration, the fifth day before Midsummer.† This, however, in the list of Holidays given by D. Macpherson, the editor of Wyntoun, is fixed to June 19th.‡ There is still some vestige of its having been formerly observed on this day. For “the 19th of June is kept,” at Forfar, “as an anniversary in honour of St Margaret, Malcolm Canmore’s Queen.”|| I cannot, however, account for it, that David Chambers gives the *tenth* as the day observed in memory of her translation.§ This exactly corresponds with the *English Martyrologe*, A. 1608.¶

I had not formerly observed, that not only Margaret, but Malcolm Canmore, is recognised as a Saint, and has the 2d day of June appropriated to him. Both Chambers, and the anonymous *Catholicke Priest*, by whom the *Martyrologe* was written, concur in this account. The latter says; “At Dunfermelling in Scotland, the Commemoration of *Blessed* Malcolm, the third King of that name, and husband to the famous S. Queene of Scotland, whose godly workes of piety and deuotion are famous to all posterity, especially to his successors, as well in that kingdome, as to other Princes of bloud in Europe.” Afterwards he is called “holy Malcome.” By Chambers, he is denominated *Sanctus Malcolmus*, and *Martyr*. He gives him the latter title, as having died in defence of the liberties of the church, and in consequence of the perjury and perfidy of William Rufus.**

* Ford. Scotichr. Lib. v. c. 52. Boeth. *ut supr.* † Cronykil, B. vii. c. 3, v. 100, &c.

‡ Vide Wyntoun, vol. ii. 524.

|| Stat. Acc. vi. 519, N.

§ Camerar. de Scotor. Pietate, p. 154.

¶ P. 155.

** Martyrol. p. 145, 155. Camerar. p. 151. Vide Hailes’ Ann. i. 24, N.

According to Boece, Ethelred, son to Canmore and Margaret, was also buried here. * His language is rendered by Bellenden; "Ethelred—deit in his tender age—buryit in Dunfermelyng." † Fordun makes this acknowledgment: "I can find nothing certain as to the place of Ethelred's death,—but it is believed, that he was interred in the ancient church of St Andrews in Kilreymonth." ‡ Wyntoun, however, gives the same account with Boece. Speaking of the interment of Queen Margaret, he says:

Be-for the Rwde Awtare wyth honowre
[Scho] wes layd in haly sepulture.
Thare hyre Lord wes layd alsuá,
And wyth thame thare sownnys twa,
Edward the fyrst, and *Ethelred*.

CRONYKIL, B. vii. c. 3, v. 103.

But there is great obscurity as to the history and even the identity of this Ethelred. For, according to an extract from the Register of the Priory of St Andrew's, Ethelred, who is called "Abbot of Dunkeld, and besides Earl of Fife," gave the Culdees the lands of Ardmore. || Now, not to enter on the difficulty arising from the prerogative of Macduff, as Earl of Fife, being ascribed to him, even this donation is not easily reconcileable with the idea of his dying "in his tender age." It is to be observed, however, that, according to the very language of the extract referred to, because Ethelred was "under age" when he made this grant, it was afterwards confirmed by Alexander and David, his brothers; § and that even the language of Boece does not necessarily imply that he was so young that he could not be supposed capable of making it. For it might imply, that he was at least fourteen years of age. Lord Hailes has said, that Ethel-

* Boeth. Hist. Lib. xii. c. 13. † Croniklis, B. xii. c. 13.

‡ Scoticon, Lib. v. c. 28. || Dalrymple's Collect. p. 225. Hailes' Ann. i. 42.

§ Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 468.

red became a churchman ;” an assertion for which I cannot perceive his authority, unless he founded it on the complimentary language of the Register of St Andrew’s, most probably called forth merely by his liberality to the church,—*Vir venerandæ memoriæ*.

He at any rate survived the death of both his parents. For he was with Margaret, in Edinburgh Castle, when she received the afflicting news of the fatal event of Alnwick ; and, after her decease there, being afraid of interruption, in consequence of the spirit of insurrection which appeared immediately after the king’s death, he acted with such wisdom and caution, that he got her precious remains carried off from the castle before her death was generally known.

—Hyr swne Ethelrede, quhen this felle,
That wes hys modyr nere than by,
Gert at the west yhet^a prewaly
Have the cors furth in a myst,
Or mony of hyr endyng^b wylt.
And wyth that body thai past syne
But ony let^c til Dwnfermelyne.

WYNTOUN’S CRONYKIL, B. vii. c. 3, v. 69.

Here also was King Edgar, son of Malcolm III., interred, A. 1107 ; * Alexander I., another son, in the year 1124 ; † David I., his youngest son, A. 1153 ; ‡ Malcolm IV., surnamed the Maiden, the grandson of David, A. 1165 ; || and Alexander III., of whom Wyntoun says ;

^a Gate.

^b Decease.

^c Without any obstruction.

* Edgarus—in Dunfermenlyng (*sic*) prope patrem apud altum altare conditus est tumulo. Major. Hist. Fo. 46, b.

† Apud patrem in Dunfermelyng honorifice sepultus est. Ibid. Fo. 47, a.

‡ David eas in statu bono tenuerit, praecipue Dunfermelyn, ubi ipse in Domino repausat. Fordun, Lib. vi. c. 1.

|| Corpus usque ad Dunfermelyn latum est ; ubi in medio pavimenti, a dextris avi sui regis David, ante majus altare, locum sepulturæ regium, humatum requiescit. Fordun, Lib. vi. See also Major. Hist. Fo. 57, b., and Sir John Skene’s Chronology, or *Table of all the Kinges of Scotland*, 1597 ; a work which seems to have been executed by the learned author with great accuracy as to places and dates.

Alysandyr oure Kyng deyde^a at Kyngorne.
 Frá that place he wes had syne,
 And enteryd^b in Dwnfermlyne :
 In that Collegyd Kyrk he lyis,
 Hys spyryt in-til paradys.

CRONYKIL, B. vii. c. 10, v. 474.

Six large flat stones mark out the place of royal sepulture. It cannot be doubted, that Dunfermline has the honour of preserving the remains of the illustrious Robert Bruce. Lord Hailes has remarked, that these "were interred near those of his consort," Elizabeth, daughter of Aymer de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, "in the middle of the choir at Dunfermline." * This exactly corresponds with Bower's account. "A. 1327, died the Lady Elizabeth, queen, and mother of King David, and was buried in the choir near her husband, King Robert." † Barbour has thus described the interment of the hero of his poem :—

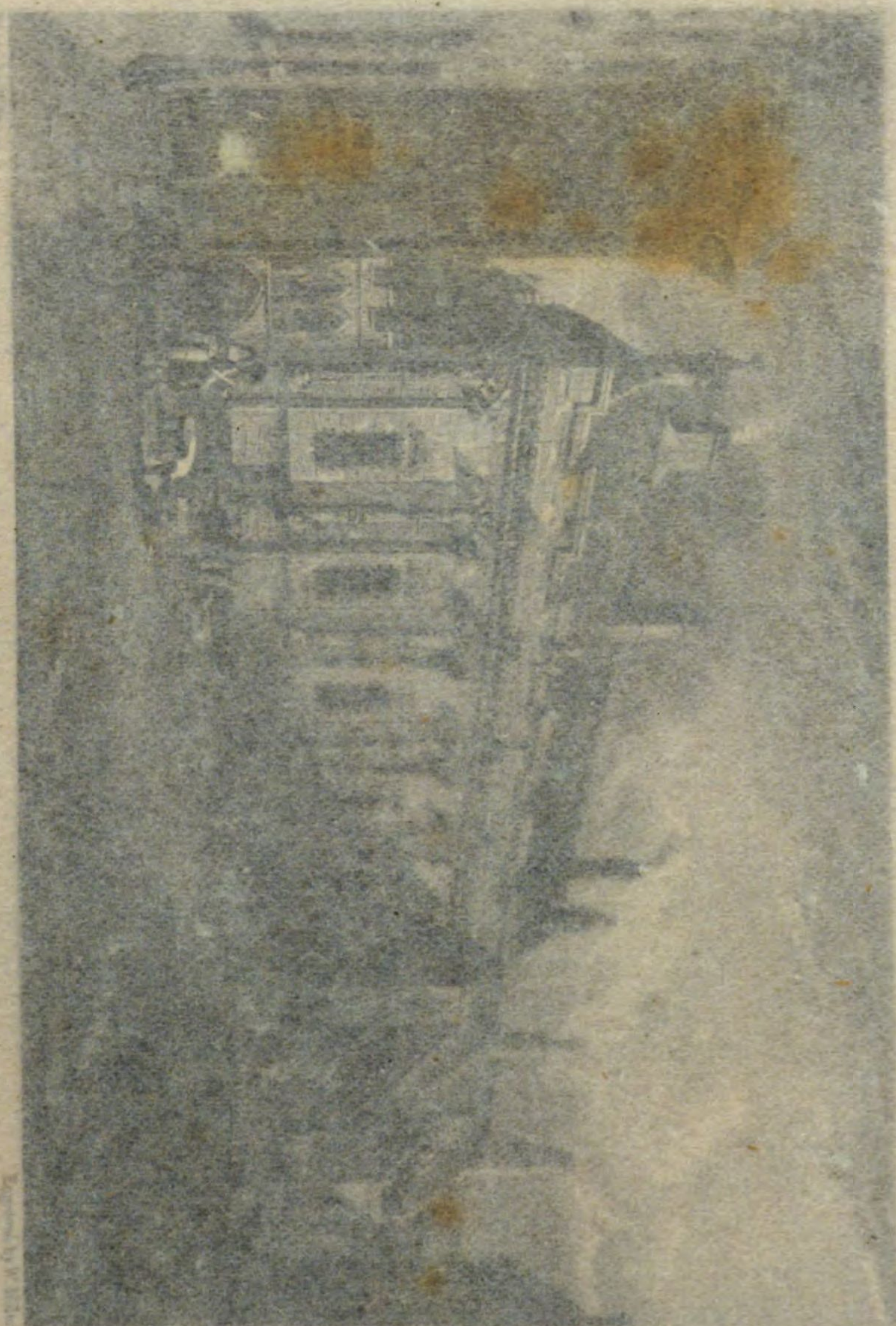
I hop that nane that is on lyve^c
 The lamentacioun suld discryve^d
 That that folk for thair lard^e maid.
 And quhen thai lang thus sorowit had,
 Thai haiff had him to Dunferlyne :
 And him solemply erdyt^f syne
 In a fayr tumb, in till the quer.^g

THE BRUCE, B. xiv. v. 871. ‡

^a Died. ^b Interred. * Annals, ii. 131, 132. † Scotichron. Lib. xiii. c. 12.
^c Alive. ^d Describe. ^e Lord. ^f Interred. ^g Choir.

‡ The reader, who would wish to have a more particular account of the circumstances, splendour, and expense of this royal funeral, may consult the Notes to my edition of the ancient and interesting poem of Barbour, p. 488-493.

PALACE OF STIRLING IN STIRLING CASTLE



SPRINGFIELD

THE CITY OF SPRINGFIELD
HAS THE HONOR TO ANNOUNCE
THAT IT HAS PURCHASED
THE LANDS OF THE
SPRINGFIELD TRUST
AND HAS DECIDED TO
USE THE SAME FOR
PUBLIC PURPOSES
AND TO OFFER THE SAME
FOR SALE TO THE
HIGHEST BIDDER
AT THE CITY CLERK'S
OFFICE ON MONDAY
MAY 10TH 1892
AT TWO O'CLOCK P.M.

THE CITY OF SPRINGFIELD
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MAY 10TH 1892
AT TWO O'CLOCK P.M.



Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

PALACE OF STIRLING IN STIRLING CASTLE.



STERLING GARDEN

FROM THE FRONT STAGE - FIELD OF BANGOR GARDEN

Engraved by W. H. W. H.



Drawn by W. Brown.

Engraved by W. Forrest.

STIRLING CASTLE.

FROM THE BORE STONE - FIELD OF BANNOCKBURN.

Stirling.

WE can scarcely imagine a more eligible site, either for a fortress, or for a royal mansion, than that of STIRLING. As, on the western firth, to the eye of the approaching traveller, the colossal rock of Dunbarton, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Strathclyde, seems to raise himself up from his native waves, like some fabled giant, or huge monster of the deep, prepared to defend his claim to the sovereignty of the rivers which form their junction at his feet, and to guard one of the principal entrances into his domains; the rugged rock, on which stands the castle of Stirling, in like manner, appears as hereditary guardian of the eastern firth, and as keeper of another important gate of admission into the interior, frowning defiance on all who would dare to enter without his permission.

“From the top of the castle,” that amusing traveller Pennant remarks, “is by far the finest view in Scotland. To the east is a vast plain, rich in corn, adorned with woods, and watered with the river Forth, whose meanders are, before it reaches the sea, so frequent and so large, as to form a multitude of most beautiful peninsulas; for, in many parts, the windings approximate so close as to leave only a little isthmus of a few yards. In this plain is an old abbey [*Cambuskenneth*], a view of *Alloa*, *Clackmannan*, *Falkirk*, the Firth of *Forth*, and the country as far as *Edinburgh*. On the north, the *Ochil* hills, and the moor where the battle of *Dumblain* was fought. To the west, the strath of *Menteith*, as fertile as the eastern plain, and terminated

by the Highland mountains, among which the summit of *Benlomond* is very conspicuous.*

“Old chronicles,” it has been said, “inform us, that Agricola raised fortifications upon the rock on which” the castle “stands; nor is it improbable that the Romans had a station there, in which they made the necessary preparations for the passage of the Forth. Their military causeway points directly to this town, from the south, a little westward of the church of Larbert, and holds on, in a straight course, by Torwood-head, Drasyl, Pleanmuir, Upper Bannock-burn, the villages of Mill-town and St Ninians, and the town of Stirling.”†

As this account is almost verbally transcribed from Nimmo's, and the only chronicle referred to by him is that of our national fabulist Boece,—I shall merely remark, that the latter gives a far more minute narrative of Agricola's progress in Scotland than his own son-in-law Tacitus the historian. Which of the two writers was most qualified to do so? Tacitus, it would appear, knew nothing of Stirling. But let us hear what Boece ascribes to Agricola here, as his language is rendered by our good old Bellenden.

“The thrid yeir efter, he come to Striueling, quhilk was callit in thay dayis the dolorus montane. For the inhabitantis thairof hard syndry tymes ane dolorus & lamentabil crying, quhilk come be illusion of wickit spreitis^a dessauyng^b the pepyll with vane superstition. Quhen Agricola saw the castell of Striueling set on sa strang place, he reperit and biggit^c it with sa^d crafty and sumptuus labour, that it apperit vnwynnabyll.^e And nocht^f lang efter he byggit ane bryg^g ouir Forth, and transportit all his army be the same.”‡

If, however, the pretty generally received opinion be well founded,

* Pennant's Tour in Scotland, A. 1769, p. 258, 259.

† History of Stirling, 1812, p. 1, 2. Nimmo's Stirlingshire, p. 23.

^a Spirits.

^b Deceiving.

^c Built.

^d So.

^e Impregnable.

^f Not.

^g Bridge.

‡ Bellenden's Cronykil, B. iv. c. 11.

that *Alauna* was the name of a Roman station, on the river Allan, about a mile above its confluence with the Forth, two or three miles from Stirling, and that Ardoch is the *Lindum* of Richard's Itinerary,* it is evident that the rock of Stirling must have been known to the Romans, and not at all probable, that the importance of the situation would have been overlooked by these intelligent invaders.

Although we have no better authority than that of our own chronicler, for Stirling castle having belonged to the Picts, before the time of Kenneth Macalpine, here his testimony is by no means unworthy of credit. Kenneth, he says, obtained a victory over the Picts in the neighbourhood of Stirling: and this account has been supposed to receive confirmation, from there being a tract of ground in the immediate vicinity, which, from time immemorial, has been called Cambuskenneth, that is, the field or creek of *Kenneth*. On this stood the celebrated monastery of the same name; often, in ancient writings, from its propinquity, called the Monastery of Stirling, as, in the subscriptions of old charters, its abbots take the designation of *Abbates de Striveling*.†

Boece has also given a long account of the conquest of all the country between Tweed and Stirling, from Forth to Clyde, by Osbret, king of Northumbria, affirming that he took possession of Stirling castle, and repaired it; and that it was thenceforth the march between the Scots, the Northumbrians, or Angli, as he calls them, and the Britons, or Strathclyde Welsh.‡ But I have not been able to discover a vestige of this conquest in any of the old English historians. He seems to be the first of our writers who has ascribed so early a date to the coinage of Scotland as the ninth century: for he says, that this Northumbrian king ordained that the moneyers should reside here; and that, from this place of coinage, even the English adopted the denomination of *Sterling* money.¶ Buchanan refers to

* *Vide Caledonia*, i. 144, 145.

† *Boeth. Hist. Lib. x. c. 13, 14.*

‡ *Nimmo, ut sup. p. 85, 90.*

¶ *Boeth. ut sup.*

this absurd figment as the opinion of some, without adopting it as his own.*

There has been less variation in the designation, or in the orthography of the name, of this fortress, than has taken place in regard to many others that have not attained the same celebrity in our national history. Bellenden, indeed, seems to have understood Boece as giving the name of *Vicomagia* to this military station: for the words used concerning Kenneth, *In Vicomagiam—irrupit*, he thus translates: "Be [by] this edict was assembled at *Striuelyn* an army of Scottis."† But although Boece has not only misnamed the district, which should have been called *Vacomagia*, but misplaced it, as it includes Murray, and part of Inverness and Perthshire,‡ it is evident that he uses the term as denominating not a fortress, but a region. This appears undeniable, from the index of the names of places, prefixed to the history by Boece himself.¶ The name is written *Strevelyn* by Barbour; *Strevelyn*, *Strivelyne*, and *Stryvelyne*, by Wynthoun; *Striuelyne*, by Bellenden; also *Striveline*, *Striveling*, *Strevelyne*, *Strevelyn*; in English deeds of the reigns of Edward I. II. and III. most commonly *Stryvelyn*, sometimes *Estrivelin*; as, in the translation of Froissart, it appears in the form of *Estruleyn*; and, by a strange misnomer, of *Esturmelyne*.§ The name is most probably of Celtic origin. As, from its situation, this fortress formed a sort of boundary to the possession of different hostile nations, it has been conjectured, with considerable plausibility, that it had derived its name from being the object of frequent contention. "*Stryveling*," it

* *Sunt qui pulent monetam argenteam, quam adhuc Sterlinum vocat vulgus, ibi tum excusam.* Hist. Lib. vi. c. 6.

† Boeth. et Bellend. Lib. x. c. 9.

‡ Vide Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 224. Caledonia, i. 63.

¶ Vicomagia Pictorum quondam regio, Sterlingi agros cum nonnulla Montecht parte occupabat: hinc Vicomagi, illius regionis populi.

§ Bouchier's Froissart, i. 94; ii. 28.—In the original it is denominated *le chastel Desturmelin*. Cronique, i. Sign. h. iiii. b. Edit. Verard, Paris.

has been said, " which was the antient name of the plain, signifieth the *hill* or *rock* of *strife*, to which the Monkish writers seem to allude, when they give it the Latin name of *Mons Dolorum*." * In Irish and Gaelic, *strith* undoubtedly signifies strife. But if we view this as forming the primary part of the word, we must be at a loss for the termination ; unless we trace it to *linn*, which, in the Irish, denotes a streight, or narrow entrance, as if referring to the position of this rock, between which and the river there is only a narrow passage. Macpherson, while he admits the general idea as to the origin, gives the Gaelic word in a more simple form. " That tract of country," he has remarked, " between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, has been, through all antiquity, famous for battles and rencounters, between the different nations, who were possessed of North and South Britain. Stirling, a town situated there, derives its name from that very circumstance. It is a corruption of the Galic name STRILA, i. e. *the hill*, or *rock*, of contention." † Baxter views the Roman station of *Alauna* as *Sterling* or *Strivelin* ; resolving it into British, *Es Trev Alaun*, i. e. Oppidum Alauna. ‡

The town had early derived considerable importance from its being under the protection of the castle. It was erected, according to Nimmo, into a royal borough, by King David I., about the year 1150 ; and ranks the fifth in Scotland in point of antiquity :|| but it is elsewhere asserted, that the most ancient of its charters is granted by Alexander I., dated at Kincardine, in the twelfth year of his reign, corresponding with the year 1119 or 1120 ; and that there is reason to believe that Stirling had been incorporated long before, as the charter of Alexander is not a charter of erection, but only confers some additional privileges on the burghers and freemen.§

On its ancient seal appears a crucifix, erected on a bridge, with this

* Nimmo's Stirlingshire, p. 239.

† Ossian's Poems, i. 108. N. Edit. Lond. 1773.

‡ Glossar. vo. *Alauna*.

|| Nimmo, *ut sup.* p. 307.

§ Stat. Acc. viii. 273.

inscription,—*Hic armis Bruti, Scoti stant hac cruce tuti*: On the reverse, a Gothic castle, with two branches of a tree, or, as others express it, surrounded with trees, with the legend,—*Continet hoc nemus et castrum Strivilense*. The town has another seal, apparently of a later origin, bearing a wolf upon a rock, and inscribed, *Oppidum Stirlingi*. It has been supposed, that, although arms and mottos have often arisen from very frivolous events, these armorial bearings give some degree of authenticity to what Boece has said of the victory of the Northumbrians, and of their building a stone bridge here across the Forth, on the top of which a cross was erected, especially as part of the inscription, said to have been engraved on the bridge, is retained in the arms.* The trees and the wolf have been supposed to refer to the vicinity of the Caledonian forest. Chalmers views the arms and inscription as referring to a much later event,—the signal victory gained by Wallace over the English at the bridge of Stirling. He quotes Fordun, or rather Bower, as his authority, who, indeed, when narrating this battle, introduces some old monkish rhythms, in which it is said that the bridge attests their victory.† Stirling was one of the towns which formed the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum*, or *Court of Four Boroughs*, elsewhere mentioned as instituted by David I.‡

Alexander I. died at Stirling, A. 1124, || and was succeeded by his

* Boece gives this as the original inscription:—

Anglos a Scotis separat crux ista remotis ;
Arma hic stant Bruti, stant Scoti sub cruce tuti.

It is thus rendered by Bellenden:—

I am frie marche, as passingeris may ken,
To Scottis, to Britonis, and to Inglismen.

CRONIKLIS, B. x. c. 14.

† Ut pons testatur, ubi bellum grande notatur,
Qui Strivelyn juxta Forth amnem conditur ultra.

SCOTICHRON. Lib. xi. 29. Vide also CALEDONIA, i. 1, N.

‡ Vide the article *Roxburgh*.

|| Fordun. Lib. v. c. 40.

brother, David I. The late diligent investigator of the antiquities of our country, Chalmers, has thrown out a remark, which, as it regards a fact in itself curious, contributes, in no inconsiderable degree, to account for a circumstance otherwise not easily explicable; that in a kingdom of such limited extent, and comparatively so poor, our ancient monarchs should have had such a variety of mansions. "The kings," he says, "were within their own realm the greatest barons, who possessed manors in every shire,—who manured them under their own thanes or bailiffs,—and who lived upon their own produce. They were thus induced, frequently, to shift their residence, in order to consume the products of their farms." In illustration of this remark, he subjoins, that David I. "granted to the monastery of Dunfermlin the half of the hides, and of the fat and blood, of all the beasts which should be killed for the *feasts held in Stirling*;" and "to the monastery of Cambuskenneth the half of the hides, and of the tallow and fat, of all the *king's beasts* which were killed at Stirling."*

When William the Lion was taken prisoner by the English, this was one of the principal fortresses of Scotland, delivered up to Henry II., in pledge of the payment of his ransom. Besides Stirling, they got possession of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, and Edinburgh.† This prince held a parliament here, A. 1211, at which his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon, was present. Having demanded aid for paying the sum due to the King of England for his ransom, the nobles promised to raise ten thousand merks, and the burgesses six thousand, besides what should be supplied by the ecclesiastical orders, "on which," as our old chronicler says, "they did not presume to impose any tax."‡ William the Lion, it has been asserted, "desired, in his last sickness, to be carried to Stirling, in expectation of reaping some benefit to his health from the salubrity of its air."|| A reference is made to Fordun, not only as to this fact, but the reason of it. The

* Chart. Dunferm. and Cambusken. Caledonia, i. 788, 789.

† Hailes' Annals, p. 118.

‡ Fordun. Scotichron. Lib. viii. c. 73.

|| Nimmo's Stirlingshire, p. 306.

ancient writer declares his ignorance whether this was done “on account of the salubrity of the air, or by reason of any preconceived affection to this situation, as anciently a royal seat, and distinguished as being a conterminous place, interposing itself between, and connecting Scotland and Britain, *i. e.* the kingdom of the Britons of Strathclyde. Here he refers to the seal of the town above described. At this place William died, A. 1214.* Anderson has published a charter of this king, dated at Stirling, but without any intimation of the year of his reign.†

Alexander III. must have occasionally resided here. For, A. 1263, an accompt is rendered by John de Lamberton, sheriff of Stirlingshire, “for the land our lord the king *has in his own hand*; also for the expenses of men watching in the castle during the time that the King of Norway was in these parts.” This undoubtedly respects the Norwegian invasion before the battle of Largs, which took place this year. Money is also paid for cleaning his Majesty’s arms. Another accompt is given of the receipts and expenses in the construction, *parci de Striuelin*, of the park of Stirling. At this time, indeed, not only had the old park been repaired, but a new one been completely constructed. The sum expended for this amounts to £80, 16s. 3d. In another, rendered for 1266, the charge is for two chalders and a half of meal, in the service of the king; for the same quantity, in the service of the king’s son (Alexander, born A. 1263); also for the same prince, for a year and fifteen days, seventeen chalders, and four bolls and a half; and, in the service of the queen, thirteen chalders, and three bolls.‡

The park above referred to is evidently that commonly called the *King’s Park*, an inclosure on the south-west side of the castle, in which the court used to take the diversion of hunting the deer inclosed in it. The New Park lies between Bannockburn and St Ni-

* Scotichron. Lib. viii. c. 79.

† Diplomata, No. 29.

‡ Expensis—circa constructionem *noui parci* vsque ad plenam perfectionem eiusdum, et in reparacione *veteris parci*, &c. Excerpt. e Rotul. Compotorum, i. 37, 38.

nians.* Both these parks have acquired celebrity from the circumstances attending the battle of Bannockburn. Barbour, in different passages, distinguishes the one from the other. Speaking of the attempt made by Clifford to throw supplies into the castle, he says that the English troops avoided the *New Park*, knowing that King Robert had taken up his position there.

Furth on thair way held this menye,^a
And towart Strewilline held thair way.
The *New Park* all eschewit thai;
For thai wist weill the king wes thar;
And newth^b the *New Park* gan thai far,^c
Weill newth the kyrk in till a rout.

THE BRUCE, B. viii. v. 537, Edit. 1820.

The other, or older, enclosure he merely calls *the Park*.

The waward,^d that wist^e na thing,
Off this arest, na his duelling,^f
Raid to *the Park* all straucht^g thair way.

Ibid. v. 670.

When Edward, after his defeat, rode with a small body of his troops to the castle, and demanded entrance from his lieutenant, Philip de Mowbray, the latter warned him of the danger attending this plan, and advised him to rally his men around him, and betake himself to flight, adding;—

—*Haldis*^h about *the Park* your way,
Rycht als sadlyⁱ as ye may.—
—Be newth^k the castell went thai sone,
Rycht by the Round Table away:
And syne *the Park* enweround^l thai;
And towart Lythkow held in hy.^m

Ibid. B. ix. v. 554.

* Kerr's Hist. Robert I., vol. i. 446.

^a Band. ^b Under, beneath. ^c Can they go. ^d Vanguard. ^e Knew. ^f Delay.
^g Straight. ^h Hold. ⁱ Compactly. ^k Beneath, under. ^l Invironed. ^m Haste.

After the death of Margaret of Norway, the daughter of Alexander III., when Edward I. entered on his usurped exercise of paramount power in Scotland, a letter was written by him, from Norham, June 13th, 1291, to Patrik de Graham, requiring him to deliver the castle of Stryvelyn to Norman d'Arcy.* This was the immediate result of the ignominious surrender which the regents of Scotland made of the kingdom into the hands of Edward, at Upsetlington, opposite to Norham, on the Scottish side of the Tweed.† The magnanimous Wallace, having now appeared in defence of the freedom of his country, while engaged in besieging the castle of Dundee, received intelligence of the approach of the English to Stirling. Having strictly charged the citizens of Dundee to continue the blockade of their castle, he hastened, with all his troops, to guard the important passage of the Forth. At this time, it would seem, the castle was held against the English by Malcolm, Earl of Lennox. Wallace attacked the troops of Edward, led by Cressingham, and obtained a signal victory over them at the bridge of Stirling, 11th September, 1297.‡ The Scots, in their retreat after the fatal battle of Falkirk, A. 1298, burnt the town and castle of Stirling. The latter was repaired by Edward, who made it a place of arms.||

New guardians having been chosen, to act in the name of Baliol, who had been long a prisoner, their first enterprise was against the castle of Stirling. Edward, fully aware of the importance of this fortress, prepared to succour the besieged. But his barons, on the ground of Edward's breach of faith to them, in not confirming certain privileges which he had promised, refused to advance farther than Berwick. He therefore gave orders to the garrison of Stirling to capitulate.§

* Rotuli Scotiæ, i. p. 1, 11.

† Hailes' Annals, i. 202, 206.

‡ Fordun. Lib. xi. c. 29. Hailes' Ann. i. 250-252.

|| Hailes, *ut sup.* p. 263.

§ Hailes' Ann. i. 265, 266.

In a parliament, held by the English king on the 11th of the same month, at St Andrew's, in April, A. 1303, the garrison of Stirling castle, the only fortress of the kingdom which had not surrendered, were declared outlaws. "To protect this single place of refuge," says Lord Hailes, "Comyn assembled all his forces. He posted his army on the south bank of the river, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, *there* to make the last stand for the national liberty."* Although this defence was rendered unavailing, in consequence of Edward having discovered a ford at some distance, the fortress stood out for a considerable time. In order to finish the conquest of Scotland, he made great preparations for the siege of this place. Against all his exertions, although he not only employed all the warlike engines which were then in use, but, in an advanced period of life, exposed his person with the temerity of youth, it was defended for about three months by the brave Sir William Oliphant, or *de Oliferd*, and a small garrison, who were at length compelled to surrender at discretion, A. 1304.† Edward, during this year, it has been said, was at Stirling from the first of May to the twenty-ninth of July.‡ But he must have been here some time earlier. For, on May 6th, he had granted a protection, dated at Stirling, on the 24th of April,|| to Alexander de Baliol. Here the pusillanimous John Baliol had held his second parliament, August 3d of the preceding year.§

In the *Rotuli Scotiæ* are various orders of Edward I., for victualing, and more completely fortifying, this important fortress.¶ Philip de Mowbray, having entered into a convention with Edward de Bruce, that the castle should be rendered to his brother, King Robert, within a term limited, if it should not be previously relieved; Edward

* Annals, i. 276.

† Fordun. Lib. xii. c. 3, 4. Knyghton, Dec. Script. 2530. Henry's Hist. Britain, vii. 109, 110.

‡ Caledonia, i. 670, N.

|| Rotuli Scotiæ, p. 52.

§ Hailes' Annals, i. 228.

¶ Rot. Scot. i. p. 63, 66, 80, 109, 121.

II., A. 1314, enjoins the sheriff of Yorkshire to send infantry without delay for the purpose of effecting this rescue.* I need scarcely say, that the ever memorable battle of Bannockburn, which secured the liberty of our country, was fought in the immediate vicinity, June 24th of this year; both armies having been assembled here, with the express design of rescuing, or of obtaining possession of, this important fortress. As we have already seen, that it was the last of our national strengths, which had been given up during the *interregnum*; by a singular sort of coincidence, it was also the last that acknowledged the authority of the lawful sovereign. Two deeds of Edward III. are dated at Stirling, November, A. 1336, during the usurpation of Edward Baliol.† In the year 1341, a few months before the return of David Bruce from France, Stirling, which had been in the hands of the English, under the charge of Thomas Rokesby, or Rukby, as he is named by Fordun, while Edward III. was on his way to relieve it, “the lordes of Scotlande wer enfourmed of the commyng of the kyng of Englande, wherfore they made sorer assautes to the castell of Esturmelyne, and constrayned so them within, with engyns and canons, that they wer fayne to yelde up the castell, sauynge their liues and membres, but nothyng they shulde cary away.”‡

In a *Computum* for the year 1357, there is an appropriation of a sum for the celebration of the birth-day of David Bruce, in the castle of Stirling.|| During the reign of Robert II., A. 1385, that foolish and infatuated prince, Richard II. of England, in his predatory incursion into Scotland, after consuming the religious houses of Melros, Dryburgh, Newbottel, and Edinburgh, “rode towarde Estruleyn,” as Lord Berners expresses it, “a good towne, wherein there was a great abbey of *blacke* monkes.—The kyng lay in the abbey, and at their departyng, abbey and all was brent.”^a This was undoubtedly the cele-

* Hailes' Ann. i. 126.

† Ibid. p. 467-8.

‡ Froissart, i. 94. Fordun. Lib. xiii. c. 38.

|| Chamberlains' Accounts, i. 324.

^a Burnt.

brated abbey of Cambuskenneth. "Stirling," according to Pinkerton, "with an abbey adjacent, was burnt to the ground.* The attempt made on the castle," however, "was fruitless:" for the French historian adds; "At the castle of Strulyn, there was a great assaute, but it wolde nat^a be wonne; yet the towne, and all the landes of the lorde Vercy, they brent."† During the reign of Robert III., we have an account of the expenses of the *king's house at Striuekyne* for the year 1392.‡

A parliament was held here by James I., A. 1425, in which Murdac, Duke of Albany, Walter and Alexander, his sons, and his father-in-law, Duncan, the aged Earl of Lennox, were tried and condemned as guilty of high treason. Walter, according to Bower, or, as it is related by Buchanan, both he and his brother, on one day, and the father and father-in-law, on the day following, were beheaded on a rising ground before the castle.¶ Here a parliament was held by James II. in the year 1440, another, A. 1443, and a third in 1451.§ A tournament was celebrated here, with great state, in the year 1449, between three noble foreigners, and James Douglas, brother of the earl of that name, another Douglas of the house of Lochlevin, and John Ross of Halket, the sovereign himself sitting as judge.¶ Pinkerton has given a very particular and interesting account of this tour-

* Hist. Scotland, i. 32.

^a Could not.

† Froisart, ii. 28.

‡ Chamberlains' Accounts, ii. 223.

¶ Scotichron. Lib. xvi. c. 10. Buchanan, Lib. x. c. 29. Pinkerton's Hist. i. 114, 115.

"This *heading-hill*, as it was sometimes termed," says Sir Walter Scott, "bears commonly the less terrible name of *Hurly-hacket*, from its having been the scene of a courtly amusement alluded to by Sir David Lindsay, who says of the pastimes in which the young king was engaged,

Some harled him to the *Hurly-hacket*;

which consisted in sliding, in some sort of chair, it may be supposed, from top to bottom of a smooth bank." Lady of the Lake, Note to Canto v. st. 20.

§ Pinkerton, *ut sup.* i. 192, 196, 215.

¶ Scotichron. L. xvi. p. 515.

nement, which eventually assumed so serious a form, that the king found it necessary to terminate it.* One of the chambers of the castle was, in the year 1452, stained by the blood of William Earl of Douglas, shed by the hand of the king himself, after he had invited him as his guest, and, as would seem, granted him a safe conduct.†

“James V.,” it has been observed, “(being an infant of little more than two years of age,) was crowned in the castle of Stirling: and the palace, which is the chief ornament of it, was the work of that prince.”‡ What is here said of the palace, however, is not quite correct. For it appears that a considerable part of the royal structure was erected by James III. Of this feeble and unfortunate prince Pinkerton has said; “Lost in the retirement of his palace at Stirling, his chief cares were occupied in architecture and music, at best but laudable amusements. Had not the prosperity of the monarchy been neglected, public praise might have attended the erection of the great hall in the castle of Stirling, and that of the adjacent splendid chapel, in which a dean and a double series of chanters and musicians were appointed, that the royal ear might never want the luxury of sound.”|| “This hall goes by the name of the *Parliament-House*, having been intended for the accommodation of that supreme court, as well as for other solemn purposes.”§

This elegant hall was roofed and paneled with oak, inclosing many beautifully carved heads, meant to represent the ancient monarchs and queens of Scotland, and other persons distinguished at court. A few years ago, these were barbarously torn down, from the supposed danger of the roof failing; and sold, it is said, to the bakers of the town of

* History, *ut sup.* p. 207, 428-431. † Pitscottie, p. 49. Pinkerton, i. 219.

‡ Hist. of Stirling, 1812, p. 32. This is said to have been about the year 1529. *Lacunar Strevelinense*, p. 4.

|| V. Pinkerton's History, i. 321. Lyndsay's Chron. p. 210.

§ Nimmo's Stirlingshire, p. 247, 248.

Stirling for fuel. A few of them were rescued from destruction, which are now in the possession of individuals who knew their value. A work has since been published, under the title of *Lacunar Strevelinense*, containing beautiful etchings, and well written descriptions, of these interesting remains.

The intelligent editor of the *Lacunar Strevelinense*, or Collection of Heads, &c. claims a still earlier date for some parts of the regal structure. "None of the royal palaces in Scotland," he says, "appear to have been so favoured by our princes of the house of Stewart as the castle of Stirling. The Courts and Parliaments of the kingdom had indeed been frequently held within the walls of that fortress during the earlier ages of the monarchy; but it first assumed the rank of a fixed royal residence, in the time of James I. This elegant prince, it may naturally be supposed, had contracted a great partiality for the situation and view of Windsor, during that period of captivity which he spent, so happily for himself, and in the end so beneficially for the country, at the court of England. The likeness which Stirling bears to Windsor in both of these respects, is such as to strike every spectator; and may, not improbably, have been the origin of the marked preference which James bestowed on this delightful residence. The oldest parts of the present buildings on 'the royal rock' are of this reign."*

It is evident, however, that the palace, erected within this fortress, was chiefly indebted to James V. "It is a stately and commodious structure," says Nimmo, "all of hewn stone, with much statuary work upon it.—It is built in the form of a square, with a small court in the middle, in which the king's lions are said to have been kept, and from thence it still goes by the name of the *Lions-den*." This square, measured over the walls, extends a hundred and eleven feet; the court within, sixty-seven feet by forty-seven. The height of the building at the south end is forty-six feet, and at the north, where the ground

* *Lacunar Strevel.* p. 3.

risers, forty-three. The wall at an average is six feet thick. On the south front, a square tower projects from the wall, supposed to have been built by James III. The roof in this building was also ornamented with heads carved in oak. In this tower were the apartments where the celebrated Buchanan communicated those instructions to James VI., which, if they could not make him a wise man, inspired him at least with a taste for learning. This tower is sixty feet high, and in length and breadth thirty by twenty-five. It consisted of four stories.

The royal bed-chamber was situated on the south side of the palace. The presence-chamber is forty feet in length by twenty-seven. The chimney-piece is ornamented with figures of eagles. The same taste appears in all the fire-places in the palace. On some of them is the Scottish thistle, with the *fleur-de-lis*. On the north wall of the palace there are two figures, which are viewed as representing our first parents; and in a nich, at the north-east corner, is the figure of James V. himself, with a drawn dagger in his hand. These stand on pedestals, richly cut. The cornice is massy, and composed of leaves and heads of cherubs, very well relieved. The spouts for the water are in the forms of various animals, among which may be seen the lion and the elephant; and crowning the gables of the building is the Scottish unicorn. "The ground story is now converted into barrack-rooms for the soldiers of the garrison: the upper affords a house for the governor, with lodgings for the subaltern officers." *

One small room, adorned with a rich and beautiful cornice, cut in oak, is said to have been that in which James II. murdered the Earl of Douglas. This tradition confirms the opinion, that part of the palace was built by James I.†

Mary, who was marked by misfortune from her very birth, was carried hither, as to a place of security, from the contending factions

* Nimmo's Stirlingshire, p. 248.

† In an act of Parliament, during the reign of James V., David, Bishop of *Candida Casa*, or Whithern, is designed "of our chapel royal of Striueling." Acts, vol. ii. p. 392, A. 1516.

which divided the kingdom, while yet a mere infant. The charge of her education having been committed to four of the principal nobles, who had engaged themselves to neither faction, here she began her reign, August 21, 1543. This continued to be the place of her residence till she was carried off to Dumbarton, A. 1547, whence she was sent to France.*

James VI., although born in the castle of Edinburgh, was soon after conveyed to the palace of Stirling, where he was baptised, December 15, 1566, with great pomp.† As this prince passed his minority, and received his education here, it was frequently the place of his residence before the union of the Crowns. Queen Anne of Denmark having been delivered of her first son, known as the amiable Prince Henry, in the palace of Stirling, this was deemed the most proper place for his baptism. James, having resolved on a very splendid exhibition on this occasion, did not reckon the chapel-royal, erected by his ancestor James III., either large enough, or sufficiently elegant, for the present service: he, therefore, gave orders to demolish it, and to erect one, on the same site, more commodious and stately. For this work, craftsmen being summoned from every part of the kingdom, his majesty acted as their daily inspector.‡

Pinkerton has said, that "the royal palace at Stirling was called *Snawdown*;" adding, "near it was an eminence termed *Arthur's Round Table*. The fame of Arthur in books of chivalry gave rise to such names in the middle ages. One of the heralds of Scotland is termed *Snowdown Herald* to this day."|| William of Worcester, indeed, who wrote about the middle of the fifteenth century, gives the name of *Snowdown* castle to Stirling castle. Chalmers follows in the same tract; observing, that *Snawdown* is "an antient name of Stirling

* Lesl. Hist. p. 445. Buchan. Hist. Lib. xv. c. 2. 52.

† Vide Nimmo's Stirlingsh. p. 275-281.

‡ Nimmo, p. 284-304.

|| The Bruce, B. iv. vol. i. p. 103, 104.

Castle."* He makes this remark in relation to the language of Sir David Lyndsay :

Adew fair *Snawdown*, with thy towris hie,
Thy chapell royall, park, and tabill round :
May, June, and July, wald I dwell in thé,
War I ane man, to heir the berdis sound,
Quhilk doith agane thy royall roche redound.

COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPINGO.

But there is no satisfactory proof that Stirling castle was ever thus generally denominated, even as Sibbald asserts, by the people in its neighbourhood. That it might occasionally and playfully receive this name from the adherents of the court, is not improbable. This will sufficiently account for the adoption of it by Lyndsay. The name, as Sir Walter Scott has remarked, " was probably derived from the romantic legend which connected Stirling with King Arthur, to which the mention of the Round Table gives countenance. The ring, within which justs were formerly practised, in the castle-park, is still called the Round Table."† The title of *Snawdown Herald* seems to have no connection with Stirling ; but, as has been formerly observed, has been borrowed from the principal tower in Kildrummy castle, which bore the name of *Snawdown*, as early as the age of Barbour.‡

The lordship and castle of Stirling having been a part of the usual dowry of the queens of Scotland, after the accession of the house of Stewart at least, in which they were invested at their marriage, a small peninsula, betwixt the bridge and the old abbey of Cambuskenneth, still bears the name of the *Queen's-haugh*, being the place where, according to tradition, the queen's cows usually grazed. The charter to a small parcel of ground, within the constabulary, mentions, that it had

* Glossary to Lyndsay's Poetical Works. See also Sibbald's Glossary, vo. *Sned-don*.

† Lady of the Lake, N. cxxviii.

‡ See above, KILDRUMMIE, p. 122.

been granted to the first possessor, for the service of taking care of her majesty's poultry and washing-tubs.

A steep path leads up to the town, on the north-east of the castle, called *Ballochgeich*. James V., who often rambled through the country in disguise, under the pretence of discovering thieves and other disorderly persons, but frequently for carrying on his amorous intrigues, was wont, when asked who he was, to call himself the *Goodman of Ballochgeich*.*

One of the chambers of the palace is made the scene of an elegy, in which, although the composition is not of the highest class, yet, from its tenderness and pathos, every friend of the liberties of his country, every one who is capable of admiring the self-devotion of a noble mind, must feel a deep interest. It regards the mournful anticipation of the fate of the gallant and good Colonel Gardiner, by his daughter Frances, who is represented as residing in the castle of Stirling at the time of the fatal battle of Preston. I have not been fortunate enough to find this poem in print ; but am indebted for a manuscript copy of it, from which I subjoin a short extract, to one of the descendants of this truly great man.

'Twas at the hour of dark midnight,
Before the first cock-crowing,
When westland winds shook Stirling's towers,
With hollow murmurs blowing ;

When Fanny fair, all woe-begone,
Sad on her bed was lying,
And from the ruin'd towers she heard
The boding screech-owl crying.

Oh dismal night ! she said, and wept,
Oh night presaging sorrow !
Oh dismal night ! she said, and wept,
But more I dread the morrow.

* *Vide Nimmo, p. 256, 257.*

For now the bloody hour draws nigh,
 Each host to Preston bending ;
 At morn shall sons their fathers slay,
 With deadly hate contending.

Even in the visions of the night,
 I saw fell death wide sweeping ;
 And all the matrons of the land,
 And all the virgins weeping, &c.



STIRLING.

For now the bloody hour draws nigh,
Each host to Preston heading;
At morn shall sons their fathers meet,
With deadly hate concealing.

Even in the vision of the night,
I saw fell death with conquering
And all the warriors of the land,
And all the warriors of the land.



Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

ROTHESAY CASTLE BUTE.

Rothesay.

THE remains of this royal castle stand in the beautiful island of Bute, in the firth of Clyde, about six miles below those of the palace of Dunoon. As the island itself is, in Gaelic, called *Oilean a' Mhoide*, or "the island where the court of justice sits," and the town of Rothesay *Bailea Mhoide*,—one might suppose that this designation indicated the origin of the name *Bute*; the word *Mhoide* being pronounced, in this connection, as if it were *Voide*. But it is evident that it must have had a similar name long before we can reasonably suppose it to have been the seat of justice. For the ancient geographer Ptolemy calls it *Bwt-ic*, which, if the Greek termination (which can scarcely, in any instance, be viewed as radically belonging to the word) be thrown away, nearly assumes the form of the Gaelic name—which it still bears—*Boid*. The same term, when not used as a name, signifies a vow or oath.* Whether, in this primary sense, it referred to any religious circumstance connected with the history of this island, perhaps in the Druidical period, we have no *data* whence we can form so much as a conjecture. By Norwegian writers it is written *Bot*.† The learned Camden had been misinformed as to the meaning of the name *Buthe*, or *Boot*, which, he says, had been denominated "from the sacred cell which Brendan erected there, a *cell* being thus named

* *Vide* Diction. Scoto-Celtic.

† Haco's Expedition, p. 62, 70, &c.

in Scottish.”* But Gaelic *both* properly signifies a hut or cottage. The idea of Irvin is scarcely worth notice. He derives *Rossaia*, or *Rosthesaia*, from *Ros*, “a promontory, that runneth into the sea.”†

Rothsay is the name of the royal fortress of the town in which it was erected, and also of the parish, one of the two into which the island is divided. The ancient Gaelic name of this parish, it is said, is *Cilla'-bruic*, signifying “the cell,” or “church, dedicated to St Broke;” he being acknowledged as the tutelar saint.‡ Different etymons have been given of the name *Rothsay*. On the supposition of its being Gaelic, the most natural and probable origin, it has been said, is “*Riogh-suidhe*, that is, the King’s seat,” from its being “sometimes the residence of certain of the kings of Scotland.”|| Our good old Bellenden, translating the language of Boece, has given a very different account of the origin of the name. Speaking of the descendants of Simon Brec, he says: “After Nathasyll succedit Rothsay. This Rothsay wes the first kyng that send ony Scottis in the ilis of Albion. The first ile that he inhabit he callit it *Rothsay*, fra his name.”§

This king, to whom the name has been given, and who is placed many generations before Fergus, the son of Erch, is evidently a fictitious character. But it is by no means improbable, that the island itself might be denominated *Rothsay*, or *Rothisay*, whatever was the origin of the term. We have the indubitable testimony of Bede, that, in a very early period, about the third century, *Reuda*, or, as Alfred renders the name, *Reada*, the *Riada* of old Irish writers, led from Ireland the Scots, who settled in Argyleshire and the Western Isles.¶ Hence, adds the venerable historian, “they are to this day called *Dalreudini*,” from Irish *dal*, *dail*, Gothic *dal*, *dael*, denoting those who

* *Vide* Bleau’s Atlas.

† *Nomenclatura*, p. 201.

‡ Stat. Acc. i. 301.

|| Stat. Acc. i. 301.

§ Croniklis, B. i. c. 4. See also Leslæus de Orig. Scot. L. i. p. 48.

¶ Bed. Hist. L. i. c. 1.

held "the share or portion of Reuda." In the Saxon Chronicle, the same people are denominated *Daelreodi*, from their leader *Reoda*.* The learned editor of this Chronicle, Bishop Gibson, views the initial part of the name as of Anglo-Saxon origin. The word seems, indeed, to have been common to the Gothic and Celtic languages.

We may, therefore, perhaps, be permitted to conjecture, that as this fertile island would soon be an object of attention to those who settled in Kintyre, it might be honoured with the name of their leader, q. *Reodasey*, or "the island of *Reoda*," or "Reuda;" for the termination *ey*, *ay*, or *a*, undoubtedly signifies an island. This appears from the names of many of the Hebudæ, some of them in the near neighbourhood, as *Cumra* or *Cumray*, *Plada*, *Ailza*, *Sanday*, *Yla*, *Jura*, *Oronsay*, *Colonsay*, *Kerwaray*, &c. The circumstance of the termination being obviously Gothic, may be viewed as an objection to the idea that this name can have any connection with Reuda. But *I*, pronounced *ee*, and also assuming the form of *ighe*, is claimed as, in Gaelic, denoting an island. The term *I*, at no great distance from the age of Reuda, is written by Bede, in the aspirated form of *Hii*, as the name of the island afterwards known, from its celebrated occupant, as *I-colum-kille*, or "the island of Columba of the cells." He, at the same time, asserts, that this island was given by the Picts, who inhabited that district, to Scottish monks, because, by their ministry, they received the faith of Christ.† These Picts he had brought from Scythia, or the modern Scandinavia, and settled in "the northern parts of the island, as the Britons occupied the south."‡ Yet we are told, by Gaelic writers of the eighteenth century, that, "by the Picts, who made the present, Bede must mean the Picts inhabiting south of the friths of Forth and Clyde;" and that "there is not the smallest probability that *I* ever belonged to the Picts, as the venerable writer

* Chron. p. 2. 8.—24. 8.

† Bed. Hist. L. iii. c. 3.

‡ Bed. Hist. L. i. c. 1.

asserts. The least knowledge of geography," it is subjoined, "will convince any one of this."* But he, who can so boldly contradict the testimony of this ancient historian, must have looked into his work very carelessly. For Bede, in the chapter immediately following that referred to, has distinguished the Picts into Northern and Southern. Columba, he says, "preached the gospel in the provinces of the Northern Picts, that is, those which are separated by steep and rugged mountains from the Southern regions of the other Picts. For the Southern Picts," he adds, "who are seated on the other side of these mountains, had a long time before received the truth by the ministry of a most reverend and holy man, Bishop Ninian, who erected a church, and was afterwards buried, at *Candida Casa*, or Whithern." Can any language contain a more direct contradiction to that of the writer quoted above? He further says, that Columba "converted Bridi, the son of Meilochon, the most potent king of the Picts, in the ninth year of his reign; and, on this account, received a grant of the foresaid island."†

Now, it is attested by Adomnan, abbot of Icolmkill, who flourished A. 679, that Columba not only converted King *Bridi*, or *Brudi*, as he denominates him; but that his royal seat was erected on the river *Ness*, and that it was to this place that Columba came.‡

It seems highly probable, therefore, that this designation for an island was originally brought, in its different forms of *a*, *ay*, *ey*, &c. by the Picts from Scandinavia; as it so nearly resembles Anglo-Saxon *ig*, Icelandic *ey*, Swedish and Danish *oe*, Frisic *aeghe* and *ooghe*, which are all used precisely in the same sense. For although given as a Celtic term, its extension to an island, in a general sense, if I am not greatly mistaken, has been borrowed from its definite application to the island of Iona; as this is almost the only example referred to, both

* Stat Acc. xiv. 198, 199. N.

† Bed. Hist. L. iii. c. 4.

‡ Pink. Vit. Sanct. p. 87. 132, &c.

in Gaelic and Irish dictionaries.* I can discern no vestige of it in the Welsh, the Armorican, or the Cornish.†

This ancient fortress has been erected at different periods, considerably remote from each other. "It originally consisted of a circular court, a hundred and thirty-eight feet in diameter, surrounded by a wall eight feet in thickness, and seventeen feet high, with battlements. This court was flanked by four round towers, at nearly equal distances. The gateway was on the north side, betwixt two of the towers; and the lower part of it is still to be seen in the vaults of the additional building. The whole was cased with hewn stone, and surrounded by a wet ditch, of considerable breadth, and about fifteen feet deep."‡ At one period the sea has come up to the castle, and been admitted, as occasion required, into the moat. This might also have been supplied from a small rivulet, which issues from Loch Fad.

In addition to the fortress, King Robert II. erected a palace, in the form of a parallelogram, seventy-two feet by thirty-three, projecting from the ancient gateway into the ditch. There was a turret on the west side, and a projection on the east. The gate, which is on the north, is surmounted by the royal arms, cut in stone. It is supposed, that at this time the wall of the court had been heightened eight feet; so that, on the north, it was raised to the same elevation with the palace and adjoining towers. It has been conjectured, that the chapel, which was in the court of the castle, was built in an earlier age, as one

* *Vide* O'Brien, vo. *I*, and *Aoi*, another form of the word; and *Diction. Scoto-Celt.* vo. *I*. The term *aoi* itself is used by a very ancient Irish writer, in various instances, as a distinctive appellation for Icolmkill, equivalent to *I* or *Hii*, the island. "800. Bresal Mac Segeni, abb. *Aoi* (Hyona)—dormivit. 805. Familia *Aoi* occisa est a gentibus," &c. *Annals of Ulster*, Pink. Enquiry, ii. 314, 315.

† I had not observed, till after writing this article, that a very acute inquirer has thrown out the same idea as to the origin of the name *Rothesay*, or, as he writes it, *Rothisay*. Speaking of "Rioda, or Reuda," he says,—"Whose name, perhaps, remains in *Rothisay*, the antient appellation of Bute, though afterwards restricted to the capital of it." Macpherson's *Geogr. Illustr.* vo. *Ilis*.

‡ Mackinlay's *Acc. of Rothesay Castle*, p. 3.

of the windows is of a very ancient form. It is forty-five feet in length, by twenty-three, over the walls, and two stories in height. The palace was three stories high, besides the dungeon. The roof was surrounded by battlements. A drawbridge and portcullis secured the principal gate.

The date of the fortress itself is uncertain. It is supposed to have been erected, in the eleventh or twelfth century, in order to check the incursions of the Norwegians.* It undoubtedly existed A. 1228. For, in this year, it was besieged by Husbac, or Ospac, on whom Haco, king of Norway, had conferred the title of King of the Sudoreys, or Hebrides, permitting him to conjoin his own name with that of his sovereign. He, attended by many Norwegian adventurers, conveyed in eighty ships, reached the isle of Bute, and laid siege to the castle, which was defended by the Great Steward of Scotland. This, after three days hard fighting, they took. According to one account, Husbac was killed by a stone thrown from the walls during the siege, and buried at Iona. Others say, that he did not die till after he had left Bute.†

The Great Steward here referred to was a descendant of Walter I., to whom Malcolm Canmore had given, as a reward of his gallantry and fidelity, the lordship of Bute, and of Cowal in Argyleshire.‡ It has been supposed, that Bute was given, by this Walter, in patrimony to one of his younger sons, and his posterity, to be held of the High Steward. Alexander, who bore this designation, and had been born, A. 1214, married Jean, daughter and heir to James, son to Angus *Macrory*, or MacRoderick, lord of Bute, descended of the same family.|| This account, given by our writers, is confirmed by a northern testimony, to which they were strangers. For, in the history of the invasion of Scotland and the isles by Haco, king of Norway, A.

* Steam-Boat Companion, p. 60.

† *Vide* Chronicon Manniæ; and the Account of Olave, the Black King of Man.

‡ Abercromby's Atchievements, i. 446. Stewart's Geneal. Acc. p. 49.

|| Ibid.

1263, as, before the battle of Largs, he had detached five of his ships to Bute, which won a fortress, understood to be Rothesay, a new character appears on the stage. "There was with the Norwegians a sea-officer, called *Rudri*, who viewed Bute as his birthright; and, because he had not received the island from the Scots, he had committed many ravages, and killed many people. For this reason, he had been outlawed by the King of Scotland. He came to King Haco, and swore allegiance; and, with his two brothers, became subject to him." It appears that Haco had given him possession. For it follows: "As soon as the garrison, after having delivered up the castle, were gone from the Norwegians, Rudri killed nine of them, because he thought that he owed them no good will."* This Rudri is the same with Ror, or Roderick, denominated *Rodericus de Kintyre, Filius Reginaldi*, the second son of Reginald, king of the Isles. His son was that Angus MacRorie, above mentioned, whose daughter Jean was married to Alexander, sixth Lord Steward, grandfather to Robert II. king of Scotland. So late as the reign of Robert Bruce, a person of the same name was not only lord of Kintyre and of Ile, but particularly designed Sir or Lord of Ile, that is, Ila and Bute.

—Anguss off Ile that tyme wes Syr,
And lord and ledar of Kyntyre.

THE BRUCE, B. iii. v. 125.

The same person appears in the field of Bannockburn. For it is said that the king

—Had in till his cumpany
The men of Carrick halely,
And off Arghile, and of Kentyr,
And off the *Ilis*, quharoff wes Syr
Anguss of *Ile* and *But*.—

Ibid. B. viii. v. 336.

* Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition, p. 63, 65.

It has been said, on the authority of Bowyer, that, in the year 1312, during the reign of Robert I., the castle of Rothesay was taken from the English, as well as those of Dumfries and Dalswinton.* But Lord Hailes suspects that *castrum de Botha*, or de *Buthe*, is an error in MSS., perhaps instead of *Butel*, in Galloway, belonging to the Baliol family.† There is great reason to view this emendation as a mere fancy. For Boece says, that “Dumfreis, also Bute [*Boita*], Air, Lamrik [*Lanerk*], and many other castles, were either taken by force, or delivered up.”‡ Buchanan mentions Bute in conjunction with Dumfries, Lanerk, and Air, as taken, A. 1310.¶ After the fatal battle of Halidon, Edward Baliol, having usurped the sovereign power under the English Edward as his liege lord, he, A. 1334, took the castle of Rothesay, strengthened its fortifications, and gave the charge of it to Sir Allan Lyle, whom he also made sheriff of the county.§ The latter having been killed in a skirmish with the inhabitants of Bute, who had revolted on hearing of the success of the Steward, their chief, who adhered to David Bruce; the deputy-governor, John the son of Gilbert,¶ who was made prisoner in the action, ordered the garrison to surrender, and attached himself to the Scottish interest. These brave islanders have, by our ancient writers, been called the *Brandanes* of Bute.

It is natural for one who feels an interest in our early history to wish to know the reason of this designation. We have already seen

* Abercromby, i. 591.

† Annals, ii. 36, 37.

‡ Hist. Fol. 312, b.

¶ Hist. L. viii. c. 35.

§ One of this family, so early as the reign of Malcolm IV., was designed *Le Isle Dominus de Duchal*, in Renfrewshire. Sir Walter and Sir William adhered to the interests of Bruce; Sir Allan to those of Baliol. It has been said, that Bute was their ancient possession; and that thence came their name *L'Isle*, afterwards *Lyle*. *Vide* Nisbet's *Heraldry*, i. 215.

¶ Wyntoun calls him *Jhon Gibbownsone*, *Cron. B. viii. c. 29, v. 196*; Boece, John Gilbert, *Fol. 330, a*.

the attestation given to their valour by Wyntoun.* He elsewhere commemorates the great loss they had previously sustained in the disastrous battle of Falkirk—a name apparently ominous to the genuine friends of loyalty.

The Scottis thare slayne war in that stoure.

Thare Jhon Stewart a-pon fute,

Wyth hym the *Brandanys* thare of Bute,

And the gentil-men of Fyf

Wyth Makduff, thare tynt the lyf.

CRONYKIL, B. viii. c. 15, v. 44.

This might almost seem a translation of the language of Arnold Blair, chaplain to William Wallace.† It must, however, be acknowledged, that it is shrouded in darkness. The term has also been extended to the inhabitants of the isle of Arran.‡ The term has been understood as denoting the military tenants holding of the Great Steward. Of these, twelve hundred are said to have followed Sir John Stewart to the battle of Falkirk.|| Bowyer denominates the *Brandani de Botha*, or Brandanes of Bute, *nativi homines domini sui Roberti Stewart*; quoting some monkish Latin rhymes, composed in honour of these faithful adherents:

* See above, p. 21.

† Inter quos de numero nobilium valentissimus miles Dominus Johannes Senescallus, cum suis *Brandanis*, et Comes de Fyfe Macduffe cum ejusdem incolis, penitus sunt extincti. Relationes A. Blair, p. 2.—“In this unfortunate battle were slain, on the Scottish side, John Stewart of Bute, with his *Brandans*; for so they name them that are taken up to serve in the wars forth of the Stewart's lands.” Comment. in Relationes, p. 36. This passage, I find, is copied from Holinshed's Chronicle, Hist. Scotl. p. 306, Edit. 1571.

‡ Brandani,—ita enim ea ætate incolæ Arain et Boitæ insularum vulgo vocabantur. Boeth. Hist. Fol. 330.

|| Stewart's Geneal. Account, p. 52. Abercromby, ii. 146.

Tales *Brandani* rex cœli suscipe sanos ;
Ex quibus ornantur, &c.*

Still we find nothing as to the reason of the name. The only probable conjecture I have met with is that of the accurate D. Macpherson : " The people of Bute, and, I believe, also of Arran, perhaps so called in honour of St Brendan, who seems to have given his name to the kyle between Arran and Kentire."†

This Brandan, or, as the name is more commonly written, *Brendan*, was a companion of St Columba, who held him in great veneration for his piety. He died A. 577.‡ The parish of Kilbrandon, in Lorn, seems to retain his name. It is probable, that the inhabitants of Bute and Arran might be thus denominated, from the idea that they were peculiarly under the guardianship of St Brendan. Were we assured of the sufficiency of the authority, on the ground of which the learned Camden has asserted that this worthy had his cell in Bute, we could not well hesitate as to the origin of the appellation.

Robert II., occasionally at least, held his court here ; for different charters are dated at *Rothisay*, or " at our castle of *Rothisay*," in the years 1377 and 1382. || In the year 1337, Alan de Largys, or of Largs, had the charge of the king's house, and received a discharge for the expense of providing for it. The reference is probably to the castle of Rothesay ; not only because of the vicinity of Largs, but as Robert resided at Rothesay during part of this year.§ He receives a similar discharge, A. 1379.¶ This Alan is designed " Rector of the church of Methfen [Methven], *Clericus probacionis Domus Domini Nostri Regis*."** Mention is made of " sundry articles bought and

* Scotichron. L. xiii. c. 32.

† Geogr. Illustr. in vo.

‡ Adomnani Vit. Columb. p. 77. 159. 166, Edit. Pink. Camerarii Scotor. Fort. p. 144, 145. Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. i. 81, 82. Ware's Writers of Ireland, p. 16.

|| Registr. Mag. Sigilli, p. 133. 144.

§ Great Chamberlain's Accounts, ii. 89. 93.

¶ Ibid. p. 100.

** Ibid. p. 105.

sent, during this year, to the island of Bute ;" and a discharge is given " to Gylchomedy, the cook, for purchasing *marts*, and sending to the island of Bute to the amount of Liiij.s. iiij.d."* A singular discharge also occurs in this valuable register : " Payment for salt, for salting the leather of the king's house, Liiij.s. iiij.d."† I have found three charters from Robert III., bearing date at the same place ; the orthography being sometimes varied to *Rothissay*.‡ This good old king died here in the year 1406. There is one also, dated here, A. 1408, of Robert, the parricidal Duke of Albany, as Governor of Scotland. ||

In the year 1398, in a great council, held at Scone, after the celebration of mass, and a sermon, by Walter Trail, Bishop of St Andrews, the unfortunate Prince David, Earl of Carrick, was created Duke of Rothesay ; and, at the same time, Robert, the king's brother, who was Earl of Fife and Menteith, was dignified with the title of Duke of Albany.§ Pinkerton has narrated this fact in his usual mode of acrimonious depreciation. " The heir-apparent of the kingdom," he says, " was created Duke of Rothsay, a *miserable hamlet* in the isle of Bute, while the whole island would not have afforded a territorial title to a baron ; and the Earl of Fife had the real style of heir-apparent, in the title of Duke of Albany, or of all Scotland north of the firths of Clyde and Forth. That such a perversion should have continued to our own times, is only an instance of that inattention, and blind imitation, so natural to mankind."¶ It must be admitted, that,

* Great Chamberlain's Accounts, ii. p. 102.

† Ibid. p. 109.

‡ Ibid. p. 196. 210. 213.

|| Ibid. p. 236, 237.

§ Scotichron. L. xv. c. 4. Chamberlain's Accounts, ii. 421. Here the name is written Rothezay ; in p. 429, *Rothezæ* ; in 437, *Rothesay* ; so little regard had our ancient scribes to uniformity.

¶ History of Scotland, i. 52.

while the apparent superiority of designation, given to the aspiring Robert, seemed to afford a proof of the king's imbecility, and of his brother's arrogance, the choice of this title, as that of the heir-apparent, was a striking indication of the king's partiality to his patrimonial inheritance. Little, however, as our modern historian of the Stewarts counted on a title derived from the *miserable hamlet* of Rothesay, he might have thought, had the case been his own, that one conjoined with the possession of high seignorial powers, as well as of extensive property, even in this little island, was preferable to a more high sounding designation, without the concomitant right to a single acre of land. For as the title of Earl of Carrick was derived from hereditary possession of territorial right, that of Duke of Rothesay was undoubtedly superadded on a similar ground. When, therefore, we consider the origin of the latter designation, the continuance of it as the distinctive title of the heir-apparent, in relation to Scotland, cannot well be deemed a *perversion*.

As Sir John Stewart, from whom the noble family of Bute is descended, had been, by his father, Robert II., made hereditary sheriff of Bute and Arran, his grandson James was made hereditary constable of the castle of Rothesay, by King James IV., A. 1498.* "The Earl [now Marquis] of Bute," we are informed by Pennant, "is admiral of the county by commission from his Majesty, but no way dependent on the Lord High Admiral of Scotland; so that, if any maritime case occurs within his jurisdiction, (even crimes of as high a nature as murder or piracy,) his lordship, by virtue of the powers as admiral, is sufficient judge, or he may delegate his authority to any deputies."†

As the proposed marriage of James V. with the daughter of the Duke of Vendome displeased some of his nobles, who embarked with

* Stewart's Genealogical Account, p. 143, 144.

† Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 184.

him, in the year 1536, as he supposed for France, they used such liberty with their sovereign, that, while he was asleep, they persuaded the shipmaster to alter the course of the vessel, and carry him into Bute, where he unintentionally paid a visit to his royal residence. Pitscottie gives an amusing account of the royal wakening. "When the king awok aff his sleip, and perceaved them sailing ane contrair cours homwardis, he was highlie offendit at all thame that gave counsaill thairvnto, and maist of all at the skipper himselff, who obeyed thair counsaill. And had not beine the earnest solistatioun of monie in his favouris, he had hanged the skipper incontinent. But thair was nather the skipper, nor none of thame that counsalled him thairto, that evir could obtaine the kingis favoures. Then the king, seeing that he was forced to turne sail, he gart land him at the wast pairtes of Scotland; and than he remained ane space in the ille of Bute, *in his awin castle*, quhill he send and gatt hors and men, to convoy him to the castle of Stirling, quhair he remained an certane space, quhill his schipes cam about to Leith, and remained thair quhill he was provydit to pas to France againe." *

He afterwards visited Bute, in his praiseworthy circumnavigation of the coasts and islands of Scotland. "Bute, the residence of his fathers," it has been said, "did not elude the monarch's presence or attention, his applause of peaceful industry, his chastisement of predatory insolence." † This visit was made in the year 1540. The king, it would seem, was so delighted with this island during his constrained visit, that he resolved to make a longer residence there when circumstances should admit of it. For one ground of the condemnation of Lord Evandale is said to have been his embezzlement of money entrusted to him for the repair of the palace here. "Being on [one] of the kingis principal and familiar servandis, the king had directed

* *Cronicles of Scotland*, p. 360, 361. *Vide also Pinkerton's Hist. Scotl.* ii. 336.

† Pinkerton, *ut sup.* p. 365.

him, in the moneth of Apryll, and yeir of God 1541 yeires, to *Rosé*, to repair his castle thair, that he might remain thair at his pleasour, the space of ane yeir, togidder with his queine and court; and to this effect gave the said Sir James thrie thousand crounes, to fie maisons, to compleat his work in the *Rosé* of Bute.* According to Pen-
nant, in the year 1544, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, assisted by the English, made himself master of this fortress.†

To give the greater respectability to her marriage, “on the 12th of May [1565] the Lord Darnley was belted (that is, created) Erle of Rosse, with grit solemnity, a belt or girdle being tyed about his waste or middle.” But though “all kinde of provisioun was maid to mak him Duke of Rothesay, yit at that tyme it cam not to effect, albeit the crown and robe-royall wer preparit to him for the sam.”‡ Proclamation was afterwards made, “that all freeholders and uther gentilmen sould resort to Edinburgh, quhare the Erle of Rosse was maid Duke of Rothesay, with grit triumph, the 23d day of July.—The same day the bans of the Erle of Rosse and Duke of Rothesay, and the Quenis marriage, wer proclaimed.”||

Sir James Stewart of Bute, who was created a baronet by Charles I., A. 1627, was a faithful adherent to the royal cause. He garrisoned the castle of Rothesay at his own expense, and furnished a body of soldiers from his estate to the king.§ When Cromwell got possession of Scotland, Sir James was viewed with so jealous an eye because of his loyalty, that the castle of Rothesay was again taken out of his hands, and a military force placed in it. These troops, who were un-

* Pitscottie's Cron. p. 385, 386.

† Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 187.

‡ Knox's Hist. p. 373.

|| Ibid. p. 379.

§ The castle of Rothesay having been seized and garrisoned by the Parliament, during the civil wars, and his estate sequestrated; when he recovered possession in the year 1646, it was only at the expense of paying a heavy fine.

der the command of Ralph Frewin, when they left Rothesay, razed part of the castle.*

Pennant has said, that this place was burnt by the *Marquis* of Argyle.† But, trusting to memory, he has substituted the father for the son. The Earl of Argyle, when he made his unsuccessful attempt, A. 1685, landed on this island; and, on his departure, plundered the castle, breaking the doors and windows. Soon afterwards it was burnt by the Earl's brother, and has ever since remained in a ruinous state.‡ The Marquis of Bute, in the execution of his trust, as hereditary keeper of this palace, in 1816 employed seventy men in clearing away the rubbish that had been collected within it. But it would appear that there is still a good deal for this worthy nobleman to do. The attention of the Barons of Exchequer, and other public functionaries, has lately been called to the shameful dilapidations and encroachments made on the royal property here. "This remarkable building," a lively writer remarks, "has undergone many vicissitudes, having been sometimes sacked, sometimes dismantled, sometimes burnt, but always held sacred in some respects, in consequence of its regal character; for we believe it was seldom spoliated in former times, except honourably in war. A very different fate seems to have overtaken it now. Instead of the bold warrior, towering, sword in hand, on the battlements, we find it attacked by the slow and sure, but more ignominious, method of sap and mine, wherein burley bailies are the assailants, and the instruments of war neither more nor less than crow-quills and lawyers' parchments. This ancient monument of our Scottish kings has, for the last fifty years, been encroached upon by every petty functionary who could worm himself into authority; and to such a pitch of barefaced insolence has it arrived, that if the system is permitted to go on, we should not be surprised

* Wood's Peerage, i. 283. Blair's MS. Hist. of Bute. Mackinlay's Account, p. 12.

† Voyage, p. 187.

‡ MS. Hist. *ut sup.* p. 13.

to see the very stones of the building dilapidated in the open face of day. Opposite to the principal entrance of the castle, there were, about forty years ago, two fine old pillars, forming a gateway, to pass over the fosse. These were about that period taken down by some Goth or other; and in their stead was erected a small cottage; while that portion of the fosse, which intervened between the principal entrance to the castle and the cottage in question, appears to have been walled in as a garden. There is now erecting within the fosse itself, within six feet of the castle, a common blacksmith's forge, by which the principal entrance is not only blocked up, but by which the whole building must, in a short time, be miserably defaced, blackened, and destroyed. In less than six months, we venture to affirm, that even the royal arms, cut in stone, over the principal entrance, will, in consequence of these operations, be rendered quite invisible.*

This island retains a double memorial, however slender it may appear, of the partiality with which it was viewed by the princes of the house of Stewart; as it still gives name not only to one of his Majesty's heralds, but to one of the *signiferi*, or pursuivants. For we have both the *Rothesay* herald and the *Bute* pursuivant.† From this ancient seat of royalty, a peer, lately created, has received his title. January 16, 1826, the Right Honourable Sir Charles Stuart, G. C. B. was created a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name, stile, and title of "Baron Stuart *de Rothesay*, of the isle of Bute."

Greatly as the appearance of this monument of royal grandeur has been injured by vulgar encroachments, its natural situation is uncommonly beautiful. It fronts a large and well-sheltered bay. Directly opposite, on the other side of the firth, is seen the ever-memorable

* The Scots Times, Glasgow, November 15, 1828.

† Acts Parl. James VI. 1581, vol. iii. 207.

field of the battle of Largs, which proved so fatal to the Norwegians, that they never again attempted to invade our coasts. To the left lies the point of Towart, in Cowal, formerly the site of Castle Towart, the residence of the ancient family of the Lamonts. Near its ruins is the elegant modern mansion of Kirkman Finlay, Esq. The two Cumrays are seen to the right. The view up Loch Straven, and the *Kyles* of Bute, or straits which separate the island from the mainland, is very fine. The stupendous mountains of Arran terminate the view. The position and temperature of this island are deemed so favourable to those who have pulmonic complaints, that many invalids resort to it; whence it has been occasionally denominated *the Montpelier of Scotland*.

held of the battle of Long, which proved to be the Norse
 place that they never again attempted to invade our coast. To the
 left of the point of Long, in a well known, the site of Castle
 Toward, the residence of the ancient family of the Macdonalds.
 Near its ruins is the elegant modern mansion of William Mackay
 Esq. The town of Cairnryan is seen to the right. The view up Loch
 Struan, and the sight of Loch Struan, which separates the island
 from the mainland, is very fine. The steep and mountainous
 straits towards the west. The pasture and vegetation of the
 island are described as favorable to them who have political con-
 siderations, that many have been to it; when it has been occupied
 by the denizens of the island of Galloway.





Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

ROXBURGH CASTLE.

Roxburgh.

THIS ancient fortress has not been generally numbered among our palaces. But if the residence of many royal personages, or if the importance ascribed to the possession of this stronghold, as often written in the best blood of our country, can confer a right to this distinction, its claim is by no means inferior to that of a variety of other places to which it has been hereditarily conceded. The situation of Roxburgh on the border of our ancient kingdom, in a district continually exposed to inroads from one side or another, rendered the occupation of it, indeed, a matter of the greatest importance to the contending powers. Its very site seemed to mark it out as a rock of strife. It was, therefore, a continual eyesore to the party that were not the immediate occupants.

No mention, as far as I can find, is made of Roxburgh till after the Norman conquest. The word, indeed, claims a Norman origin. In Kelham's Dictionary, we have "*Rokeboruth*, Roxburgh;" from *roke*, a rock, and *boruth*, perhaps originally written *boruch*, evidently the same with Anglo-Saxon *borh*, *burgh*, a borough. In charters of David I. the orthography is *Rokesburg*.* It also appears as *Roksburg*, *Rocesburg*, *Rochelburc*,† *Rokesburch*,‡ *Rosburg*,§ or *Roseburgh*,

* Nicolson's Scottish Hist. Library, App. p. 363.

† Chart. David I. Dalrymple's Collect. p. 366.

‡ Chart. Rob. Episc. Sti Andreae, A. 1127. Vide Smith's Bede, App. p. 764.

§ Hoveden has changed it to *Rokesburt*.

which is the vulgar pronunciation; also *Rousburge*.* Some have sagely urged that this is the proper appellation of the place, being most expressive of its *beautiful* situation.† This resembles the absurd etymon of Montrose from Lat. *mons rosarum*.

“Where Twede and Teify [Teviot] unite their streams,” says Camden, “is *Rosburg* or Roxburgh, anciently called *Marchidun*, because situate on the marches, where is a castle antiently very strong by nature and art.”‡ It has been objected to this derivation of the word, that Camden’s “intimation is not warranted by the fact;” as “it was not a town in the marches.”§ If this signify that Roxburgh was not included in that district commonly called the *Merse*, from the barbarous Lat. word *Mercia*, or *Merchia*, denoting the boundaries between Scotland and England, it should be observed, that, when Camden wrote, this name had been used with greater latitude; for he reckons *Kelso* a town belonging to it, from which Roxburgh is not a mile distant.|| As Northumberland extends, up the river Tweed, within a few miles of Roxburgh, it might with great propriety be denominated a *fort* on the *boundary*.

The anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, who wrote in the seventh or eighth century, having denominated a town in North Britain *Marcotaxon*, Baxter views this as a slight error for *Marcosaxon*; and as undoubtedly denoting Roxburgh, formerly denominated *Marchidun*, i. e. “the town of the boundary.” For here, he adds, “anciently was the boundary between the *Saxons*” and Pictish Britons; *Marc* in both languages signifying a sign, and also a limit.”¶ Both

* Berners’ Froissart, i. 94.

† Stat. Acc. xix. 115.

‡ Britannia, iv. 31. The first part of Camden’s account of Teviotdale is precisely the same with that given in Bleau’s Atlas, iv. 31. From the priority of the date of publication, that of Bleau has undoubtedly been copied from the other. It is to be regretted that the writer has not told us his authority for saying that Roxburgh was “anciently called *Marchidun*.”

§ Caledonia, ii. 67.

|| Britannia, iv. p. 38.

¶ Glossar. Antiq. Brit. p. 170.

Johnstone* and Pinkerton, however, give the word in the form of Marcotaxon.† “*Marchidun*, in the British speech,” according to Chalmers, “would signify the towering fortress: and this name would be very descriptive of the position of Roxburgh, if we suppose, what is not improbable, that there was some fortress of the Gadeni upon this lofty knoll, when the Romans entered their diversified country.”‡ It affords a strong presumption that there was a Roman station in the neighbourhood, that, in the Advocates’ Library of Edinburgh, there is an altar inscribed to the “*Divi Campestres*, or Fairies,” which “was found in the romantic vicinity of Roxburgh Castle.”§ Chalmers refers to Welsh *march*, “towering, of high or luxuriant growth,” and *din*, which signifies “border or limit, a fortified hill, or mount;” Owen. But, as this etymon is not supported by the height of the knoll, the term might be more naturally traced to Anglo-Saxon *marc*, *meorce*, limes, a *march*, and *dun* mons. This derivation is also more nearly correspondent with its subsequent designation of *Marchemond*,|| or *Marchimond*,¶ latterly *Marchmont*. This appears as if it had been meant for a literal translation of *Marchedun*, q. “the mount of the marches.” That worthy writer, Sir James Dalrymple, throws out a singular fancy in regard to the origin of the word. *Marchmont*, “a name,” he says, “perhaps given it by the Romans, esteeming it a fort set upon the March or Boundarie of the world;”** as if the last syllable had been from Lat. *mund-us*, the world. Boece has given it a new designation, *Marchenium*, which is more obscure than any of the rest.††

The ancient honours of this celebrated place were doubtless meant to be commemorated by the title of Earl of *Marchmont*, conferred,

* Antiq. Celto-Normannicæ, p. 124.

† Enquiry, i. 430.

‡ Caledonia, *ut sup.*

§ Scott’s Border Antiq. i. Intr. xiii.

|| Fordun. Scotichron. Lib. v. c. 42; Lib. viii. c. 2.

¶ Ibid. MSS. Cupr. et Perth, Lib. xii. c. 19, N.

** Collections, p. 169.

†† Turstanus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis *Marchienum* (nunc vocatum Roxburgum) ad regem pacem petitum accedens, &c. Hist. Fol. 274, a.

A. 1697, by King William, on one who, by his true patriotism, sincere attachment to Protestant principles, and unbending integrity in times of the greatest political depravity and the most despicable compliance with arbitrary power, had shewn himself every way worthy of the honourable allusion expressed by the name, as well as by the motto conjoined, *True to the End*. This was the well-known Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, who, in the year 1690, had been previously created a peer of Scotland by the title of Lord Polwarth.* The name is still retained in that of *Marchmont-house*, near Greenlaw, the seat of the former earls, now that of Sir William Purves Hume Campbell, Bart. a descendant of this honourable family in the female line.

It is also a memorial of this ancient designation, that it distinguishes one of his Majesty's Heralds for Scotland. "*Merchmound* carries his title from the castle of Merchmound, formerly so named in our ancient histories, now Roxburgh seated in Teviotdale."†

The earliest notice of Roxburgh, that we meet with in history, is in relation to the reign of Alexander I. David, afterwards king, while Earl of Cumberland, in his charter of erection of the Abbey of Schelechyrch, or Selkirk, A. 1113, mentions the burgh of Rokesburg, when fixing the contributions granted for the support of this foundation.‡ "It was fortified," we are informed, "by David I., during his brother's reign, who made it his residence, and here he settled the monks whom he afterwards removed to Kelso in the year 1128."§ We may, I think, reasonably conclude that this was a fortress of con-

* *Vide* Crawford's Peerage, p. 314-317; Wood's Peerage, ii. 179, 180; and the interesting Memoirs of George Baillie of Jerviswood, and of Lady Grizell Baillie, published by my learned friend Thomas Thomson, Esq. Deputy Register. Edin. 1822.

† MS. formerly belonging to Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, Lyon King at Arms. *Merchemond*, Act. Ja. VI. 1581, vol. iii. 197, 207.

‡ Dalrymple's Coll. p. 404.

§ Camden's Brit. Addit. iv. 35. Spotswood's Rel. Houses, p. 439, 440.

siderable celebrity before this æra. For, in the reign immediately following, we find a county bearing this name, which it undoubtedly borrowed from the castle. In a very ancient charter, still extant, which seems to have been granted about the beginning of the reign of David I., to Elias de Dundas, John the son of Orm is denominated Vice-comes de Rokesbure, or Sheriff of Roxburgh.*

It has been said, indeed,—in regard to the erection of this fortress; “It is conjectured, (and with much probability,) that it was built by the Saxons while they held the sovereignty of the Northumbrian kingdom, of which Roxburgh was at that time a province.”†

We learn from the Chronicle of Mailros, that in the year 1125, “John of Crema came as legate to England, and also to king David at Rokesburgh.” Lord Hailes has said that he “held a council at Rokesburgh.”‡

Although by no means disposed to detract from the rightful honours of our ancient kingdom, and well aware that the venerable annalist was in general very accurate, and occasionally even fastidious, in the admission of evidence; yet I cannot repress the idea, that he has mistaken the proofs referred to on this point. In the Chronicle of Mailros, after it has been said that John of Crema came to David *at Rokesburch*, it follows; “And on his return,” undoubtedly from Scotland, “he held a council *at London*.”§ Lord Hailes has also quoted Simeon of Durham; giving an extract from the bull addressed by the Pope to David. In this he commends the Cardinal John, whom he had appointed as his legate *in these parts*, to the respectful and honourable reception of the king; adding, “Thou shalt cause the bishops of thy country, when they shall be called by him, to convene to his Council. The controversy, which has been long agitated between Thurstin, Archbishop of York, and the bishops of thy coun-

* Dalrymple's Coll. p. 381, 382.

† Haig's Hist. Kelso and Roxburgh, p. 185.

‡ Annals, i. 65.

§ Johannes Cremensis legatus Angliam venit, et ad Regem David apud Rokesburch; et in reditu apud Lundoniam Concilium tenuit. Chron. p. 165.

try, we have committed to the diligent investigation and discussion of this our legate; reserving, however, the final determination to the judgment of the apostolical see." Simeon thus continues his narrative; "Thus authorised, the foresaid John, making the circuit of England, came to David king of the Scots at the river Tweed, which forms the boundary between Northumberland and Lothian, in the place called *Rochesburh*. Where, having finished the business of his legation, returning to London, *he held a Council there*." He then proceeds to give an account of the articles agreed on in this council.*

The first of our writers, who has mistaken the place of the meeting of this council, appears to be Father Innes. "A. D. 1126," he says, "under the reign of king David I., a council holden at *Roxburgh* by the cardinal legate John of Crema." It is strange that he should quote, as his authority, "Decem Scriptores Angliæ, col. 252."†

Nothing, I think, can be more clear, than that the legation of John of Crema to David was to prepare him, if possible, for complying with the lofty demands of the Archbishop of York, who claimed supremacy over all the Scottish bishops; and that it was with a view to the subsequent meeting of a Council, which was to be convened in London, to settle this and other controverted questions, that the Pope desired of David, that he would "cause the bishops of his country, when they should be called by him, to attend this council." It cannot reasonably be supposed, that one Council was held at *Roxburgh*

* Episcopus etiam terræ tuæ cum ab eo vocati fuerint, ad Concilium suum facias convenire controversia, &c. Hac auctoritate Johannes prædictus circuiens Angliam, etiam ad regem Scottorum David pervenit apud Fluvium Twedam, qui Northymbriam et *Loidam* disternat in loco qui *Rochesburh* nominatur. Ubi officio legationis peracto rediens apud Londoniam celebravit Concilium, &c. Decem Script. col. 252, 253. *Loida* is rendered *Lothene*, or the province of the Scots, now vulgarly called *Louthane*. Chron. Sax. Nom. Loc. Explic. p. 36. There has been a good deal of controversy as to the application of this term to some district in England. But it can admit of no other sense here.

† Critical Essay, ii. 588.

during the legate's short stay in this country, and another immediately after his return to England. Nay, what good end could a Council, held here, have served, for settling a controversy, in which one party alone could have been heard, at which not even Thurstin, the great instigator of the dissension was present? * Lord Hailes has remarked, that "the council came to no resolution." This is true, not of the supposed council at Roxburgh, according to his view, but of that at London. Among all the articles, determined by this council, as recorded by Simeon of Durham, there is not the slightest allusion to the great point of dispute;—and evidently for a good reason. The legate had found David, like his predecessor, immovable on this point. It appears, indeed, that not one of the Scottish bishops attended; although Thurstin, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and twenty bishops of different provinces, besides about forty abbots, and clergy innumerable, were present.

In the year 1127, we find David at Roxburgh, with several ecclesiastical dignitaries as his visitors. For the Bishop of St Andrews, in the presence of David, Thurstin Archbishop of York, Ranulph Bishop of Durham, John Bishop of Glasgow, &c. "before the door of the church of St John the Evangelist in Rokesburgh," did deliver a charter of rights to the monastery of Coldingham. †

A. 1134, the church of St James was dedicated at Roxburgh. In the same year, Malcolm, by some supposed to have been Lord of Galloway, ‡ was taken prisoner, and strictly confined in the castle of Marchmond or Roxburgh. § We learn from Fordun, that this Malcolm was "the son of Macheth," who had rebelled against David, pretending that he was the son of Angus Earl of Moray. || Buchanan calls him Malcolm "the son of Macbeth." ¶ It appears, however, that he was an Englishman, of obscure birth, bred a monk, whose true name was Wimund; and that he had so far imposed on Somerled,

* *Vide* Pinkerton's Enquiry, ii. 209.

† Dalrymple's Coll. p. 169.

|| Scotichron. Lib. viii. c. 2.

† Smith's Bede, Chart. p. 764.

§ Chron. Mailros, p. 165.

¶ Hist. Lib. viii. c. 37.

Thane of Argyle, as to obtain his daughter in marriage. David met with so much trouble from this impostor, that he found it expedient to enter into terms of accommodation with him. Having broken these, after the most barbarous treatment from those who had formerly submitted to him, he was delivered up into the hands of David.* His imprisonment must have been long; for twenty-two years afterwards, A. 1156, his son Donald, whom Somerled pretended to support in rebelling against the young King Malcolm IV., was apprehended at Whithorn, and imprisoned "in the same tower of Marchemond with his father."†

David, preparing to invade Northumberland, which he claimed in the name of his son Prince Henry, "Thurstin, the aged Archbishop of York, repaired to Roxburgh, and persuaded the king of Scots to consent to a truce, until Stephen should return to England."‡ This visit Lord Hailes assigns to the year 1136; the Chronicle of Mailros to the following year.§ When Stephen afterwards entered into the north of England, in order to rescue it from the Scottish invaders, A. 1138, David retired at his approach, and occupied a strong camp in the neighbourhood of Roxburgh. It is said, that he concealed a body of troops in the town of Roxburgh, with an intent to surprise Stephen, had he fixed his head-quarters there.|| Fordun asserts, that Stephen, being seized with a sudden fear, immediately returned with disgrace.¶

It is generally admitted that *the Court of the Four Burghs* was instituted by David I. This included Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh. This court was appointed to regulate all matters regarding commerce. After the loss of Berwick and Roxburgh, Lanark and Linlithgow were substituted for them, A. 1368; and Had-

* Hailes' Annals, i. 87-89, 101.

† Scotichron. *ut sup.* Chron. Mailros, p. 167.

‡ Hailes' Annals, i. 69.

§ Chron. Mailr. p. 165.

|| R. Hagulstad, p. 317. Hailes' Annals, i. 70.

¶ Scotichron. Lib. v. c. 42.

dington, although not one of their number, was appointed to be the place of the meeting of the commissioners.*

I need scarcely add, that Roxburgh was the capital of the sheriffdom to which it gave its name. At this place, in the year 1152, the good old king was residing, when his nobles came to condole with him on the severe loss he had sustained in the death of his amiable and excellent son, Prince Henry, Earl of Northumberland.†

From a confirmatory charter, given at Roxburgh, by Malcolm IV., A. 1159, to the monks of Kelso, it has been inferred that he resided much at the former, as he frequently attended divine service in the church of the latter. For he confirms to the church of Kelso all the offerings made by himself and his attendants, whensoever, on solemnities, or other days, he heard the service of God in that church.‡

William the Lion having been taken prisoner by the English, Henry II. would consent to liberate him solely on the ignominious condition, that William should become the liegeman of the King of England: and, as a pledge of the performance of this disgraceful treaty, "William agreed to deliver up to the English the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling; and gave his brother David and many of his chief barons as hostages."§ This took place, A. 1174.

Wyntoun mentions only three of these castles.

———To be kepyd, wes thare accord
For the delywerans of our Lorde,
The thré castellys of Roxsbwrch,
Of Berwyk, and Edynburch.

CRONYKIL, B. vii. c. 8, v. 149.

* Leg. Burg. Fol. 153, 154. Dalr. Coll. p. 224. Skene Verb. Sign. near the conclusion of the work.

† *Vide* Haig's Kelso and Roxburgh, p. 193.

‡ Anderson's Diplom. *Vide* also Redpath's Border Hist. p. 93.

§ Hailes' Annals, i. 117 118.

R. Diceto speaks of no other castles but those of Rokesburg and Berewic.* Bromton says that Richard I. restored Rokesburgh and Berwike to the Scottish king.† This must refer to the year 1190, when William “gave to Richard ten thousand merks of gold and silver, for the dignities and liberties and honours which he had before the war;” that is, for releasing him from his ignominious bond of vassalage; “and for Berewic and Rockesburch, which King Henry violently held for sixteen years.”‡

At Roxburgh, A. 1193, William gave his daughter Margaret to Eustace de Vesci. The same year, he sent from Roxburgh two thousand merks of silver for the redemption of Richard, King of England.§ Having proceeded, in 1197, to Moray, with an army, against the rebels who were led by Torphin, the son of Harold Earl of Orkney, he marched onward to the northern extremity of Scotland, seized Harold, and consigned him to imprisonment in the castle of Roxburgh, until his son Torphin delivered himself as an hostage for his father.|| Lord Hailes conjectures, with great appearance of truth, that this sum made part of the price he had engaged to pay for the independency of his crown.¶

In the year 1207, a considerable part of Roxburgh was accidentally burnt; as it was intentionally subjected to this calamity nine years afterwards, in common with Werk, Alnwick, Mitford, and Morpeth, from the vengeance of John of England.** It is asserted by Fordun, that it again met with the same fate, in common with almost all the burghs of Scotland, A. 1244.††

A proof of the liberality of William is recorded in relation to this place. The Bishops of Salisbury and Rochester came to visit Scotland, about Martinmas 1209. Salisbury took up his lodgings at Kelso, and Rochester at Roxburgh, both at their own expense. “The

* Decem Script. col. 584.

† Chron. Mailros, p. 178.

‡ Ibid. p. 180, 181.

** Chron. Mailros, p. 182, 190.

† Decem Script. col. 1167.

§ Chron. Mailros, p. 179.

¶ Annals, i. 134.

†† Scotichron. Lib. ix. c. 61.

venerable king, however, for the honour of Scotland, gave them eighty chalders of grain, and sixty-six of malt, and eighty of oats.”*

“In the castle of Rokisburc, on the day of Pentecost, 1227,”† did Alexander II. confer the honour of knighthood on his kinsman, John Earl of Huntingdon, known by the name of John *the Scot*, the son of Earl David, and many other noblemen. In this place also, in the year 1239, was Alexander married to Mary, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci;‡ and here was his son, and successor, Alexander III., born, A. 1241.§ To this fortress, according to the Chronicle of Mailros,|| in the year 1255, did Alan Ostiarius, or Durward, with his rebellious associates, carry this king, while only fourteen years of age, from the castle of Edinburgh, and retain him under their power.

This was also the place of refuge for Alexander and his young queen, who, “by the guardians of the kingdom, had been prohibited from consummating their marriage, she being kept by them in strict confinement.”¶ This obviously refers to their liberation, above mentioned, by the agency of Alan Durward.**

Here, too, in the same year, Henry III. of England had an interview with Alexander, who had married his daughter Margaret in 1251. Having invited his royal father-in-law to Roxburgh, he is said to have received him with great joy, and to have conducted him, with a splendid procession, to the church of Kelso. On occasion of this meeting, a scheme of government was settled at Roxburgh, which was to be in force for seven years, till the king should attain his majority.†† In the year 1258, Alexander came with his army to Roxburgh, that he might subdue the rebels and excommunicated traitors, who, under false pretences, obtained from him a truce.‡‡

* Chron. Mailros, p. 183.

† Ibid. p. 204.

|| Ibid. p. 220.

** Hailes, i. 166.

‡‡ Chron. Mailr. p. 221.

† Chron. Mailros, p. 200.

§ Ibid. p. 206. Hailes' Annals, i. 156.

¶ Hutchinson's Northumberland, i. 274.

†† Chron. Mailr. p. 219, 221.

We find Alexander residing here, A. 1264. For we have the *Computum* of Hugh de Abernethy, sheriff of Rokesburgh, of the expenses of the castle for this year. On the day on which this account was drawn up, there were "in the castle of Rokesburgh twenty chalders of grain in the sheaf, twenty chalders of threshed barley, and twenty of threshed oats," &c. A distinct account is given of the grain used in the service of the queen.*

Edward, son to Henry III., on his expedition against the rebels in the north, who had combined with John de Vesci, proceeded to Roxburgh in the year 1266, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the King and Queen of Scotland, attended by a numerous body of the Scottish nobility.† During these scenes of joy and festivity, little could Alexander imagine that their honoured guest should become the greatest enemy that Scotland ever saw; or that the very place of his hospitable reception should be converted into the seat of the most faithless usurpation and tyranny. Here also, in 1283, was celebrated the marriage of Alexander, Prince of Scotland, with Margaret, the daughter of Guy Earl of Flanders.‡

Edward I. claiming right as lord paramount of Scotland, directed a letter from Norham, June 13, 1291, to William de Soules, commanding him to deliver the castle of Rokesburgh to William de Grante-soun.§ On the 4th August, same year, Grandison is ordered to deliver the said castle to Brian the son of Alan.|| At this time the town of Roxburgh must have been a place of considerable trade. For a safe conduct is, this year, granted by Edward to his beloved noble, *dilectus nobilis*, Richard le Furbur, *burgess and merchant* of Rokesburgh in Scotland, for travelling with his goods, merchandize, and people, throughout his dominions.¶

During the interregnum, the public writings and records had been transmitted from Edinburgh to Roxburgh, where the auditors, ap-

* Chamberl. Acc. i. p. 45, 46.

† Rymer, Foed. ii. 269. Fordun, x. c. 37.

‡ Rotul. Scot. i. p. 2.

† Hutchinson, *ut sup.*

§ Rotul. Scot. i. p. 1.

¶ Ibid. i. p. 2.

pointed, for Scottish affairs, by the usurper Edward I., held their assemblies.* In the year 1295, the pusillanimous John Baliol consented that Roxburgh, with Berwick and Jedburgh, should be delivered to the Bishop of Carlisle, as a pledge of the adherence of Baliol to the interests of Edward.†

In the year 1292, Edward himself had resided at Roxburgh during a considerable part of the month of December, from November 28th, issuing his official orders.‡ This fortress was yielded to him, A. 1296, by James, the steward of Scotland, Edward in person receiving this disgraceful surrender.§ In the following year, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Scots to retake it; but on Shrove Tuesday, A. 1313, it was surprised by James Lord Douglas, while the garrison were indulging in riot.|| Here Edward Baliol made a solemn surrender of the liberties of Scotland to Edward III., A. 1332, acknowledging him for his liege lord; at the same time, by letters patent, alienating to Edward, as a recompense for his support, *inter alia*, the town, castle, and county of Roxburgh, to be annexed to and incorporated with the crown of England for ever.¶

In this castle was Mary de Bruce, the sister of King Robert, kept in an iron cage, from the year 1306 to 1310.**

Here Edward III. twice celebrated his birth-day.†† According to Sir Robert Gordon, William Earl of Sutherland took Roxburgh from the English, A. 1340. But he seems to claim, for the noble family whose history he writes, an honour in which the earl had no share; although he has quoted the *Scala Chronica* in support of what he asserts.‡‡ For this fortress, being strongly garrisoned by Edward III.,

* Hailes, i. 224.

† Rymer, ii. 292.

‡ Rotul. Scot. i. p. 12, 13, 14.

§ March 8, 1296.

|| Hutchinson's Northumberl. i. 275. Redpath's Border Hist. p. 241.

¶ Ibid. i. p. 275, 276. Hailes, ii. 156.

** Rymer, Foed. ii. 1013, 1014. Rot. Scot. i. 64, 86.

†† Walsingham, 134, 146. Vide Pennant's Tour, 1772, Part ii. 272.

‡‡ Hist. Earls of Sutherland, p. 48. Scala Chron. ap. Leland's Collectanea, i. 558, 559.

continued in the hands of the English, till it was stormed and taken by Alexander Ramsay, in 1342, when the government of it was given to William Douglas.* It was retaken by the English after the battle of Hexham or Durham;† and Copland, who had made our King David Bruce prisoner, was nominated governor of it.‡ Here Edward Baliol, A. 1355–6, made an absolute surrender to Edward III., not only of all his private estates in Scotland, but of the kingdom of Scotland, by delivery of a portion of the soil, and also of his golden crown.§

“ In 1372, George Dunbar, Earl of March, accompanied by his brother, the Earl of Murray, with a large body of their dependants, entered Roxburgh at the time of the annual fair, and, in revenge of the death of one of their followers, who was slain the preceding year in an affray, slew all the English they found in the town, plundered it of the great quantities of merchandize and goods which were collected there” for sale, “ and reduced the town to ashes.”||

As, from the disastrous battle of Durham, in the reign of David II., the castle of Roxburgh had still continued in the hands of the English,¶ no further notice is taken of it till the year 1398, when, during the truce, the Earl of Douglas’s son, with Sir William Stuart and others, taking advantage of the critical situation of Richard II., broke down the bridge at Roxburgh, plundered the town, and ravaged the adjacent lands.** In the year 1411, Douglas of Drumlanrig, and Gavin Dunbar, adopted the same course of hostility; for they broke down the bridge of Roxburgh, and set fire to the town.††

James I. made a vain attempt to recover this fortress, A. 1435, of which Bellenden gives the following *naïve* account. “ The king past

* Hailes, ii. 191. Fordun, Lib. xiii. c. 49.

† Camd. Brit. iv. 35.

‡ Hailes, ii. 220. Rot. Scot. i. 861.

§ Hailes, ii. 234, 235.

|| Hutchinson, *ut sup.* i. 276. Redpath, *ut sup.* p. 347.

¶ Major. Hist. Lib. vi. c. 18. Pinkerton’s Hist. Scotl. i. 243.

** Rymer, viii. 57. Pinkerton’s Hist. Scotl. i. 53.

†† Scotichron. Lib. xv. c. 23.

with an army to sege the castell of Marchmond, that is to say Roxburgh. The Scottis war nowmerit in this army to II.C.M. men, by [besides] futmen & caragemen. At last quhen the kyng had lyne at the sege foresaid xv. dayis and waistit all his munitioun & powder, he returnit haim, but ony mair felicité succeding to his army.”*

A. 1460, James II., perhaps from the idea of its being a disgrace to the Scottish crown, that Berwick and Roxburgh should continue so long under the dominion of England, laid siege to the latter, with a numerous army, well furnished with artillery and warlike machinery. He had taken the town, and levelled it to the ground. During the siege of the castle, while he was overseeing the discharge of one of his pieces of ordnance, so remarkable for its size that it was called the “Lion,” it burst in discharging, and the king was almost instantaneously struck dead. A large holly, inclosed by a wall, marks the fatal spot.† The queen, Mary of Guelder, who immediately on the mournful tidings arrived in the camp, bringing her eldest son with her, then a boy of about seven years of age, conducted herself with such heroism as to inspire the troops with redoubled spirit. The garrison, soon finding themselves reduced to extremities, surrendered the fortress. “That the place,” says Redpath, “which the English had held for more than a hundred years, might thenceforth cease to be a centre of rapine and violence, or a cause of future strife between the nations, the victors reduced it to a heap of ruins.”‡

In this dismantled state did it remain till the English army, A. 1547, under the Protector Somerset, encamped on the plain between the ruins of the castle of Roxburgh and the confluence of Tweed and Teviot. Observing the strength and convenience of the situation, he resolved to make the fortress tenable. This he did; leaving in it a garrison of three hundred soldiers and two hundred pioneers, under Sir Ralph Bulmer. While the English were at Roxburgh, a great number of the Scottish gentry in this district came into the camp,

* Croniklis, B. xvii. c. 5. Fordun, Lib. xvi. c. 26.

† Pennant's Tour, 1772, Part ii. p. 272.

‡ Border Hist. p. 422.

and made their submission to Somerset, swearing fealty to the King of England.*

A circumstance has been mentioned, regarding the history of this castle, which, could we give it credit, would not be without considerable interest. It has been generally asserted, that our unfortunate James IV. still wore an iron chain about his waist, as a voluntary penance for his unnatural rebellion against his royal father. In a manuscript history of Scotland, written by the Earl of Nithsdale, and preserved in the Scots College at Douay, it is said, "that, during the usurpation of Cromwell, a skeleton, girded with an iron chain, and inclosed in a bull's skin, was found among the ruins of the old castle of Roxburgh; and that the iron chain, which King James IV. did at no time lay by, made people generally believe that it was the body of that prince which they had discovered; but that the nation being then in subjection, there was no way to make a further trial of the matter; so the skeleton was interred without any ceremony in the common burial place."†

This story tallies in some degree with one account of the death of James, mentioned by Buchanan as current after the event; that he recrossed the Tweed, and was slain by some of Home's men, near the town of Kelso.‡ There have, however, been such various accounts of his death, and of the disposal of his body, that the fact must be left as a matter of absolute uncertainty.

The remains of this castle appear on a rocky eminence on the margin of Teviot, near the place of its confluence with Tweed, rising about forty feet above the plain. The walls, part of which are still standing, have been of great strength. The south wall, as Pennant has observed, impended over the Teviot, a part of whose waters were directed, by a dam thrown obliquely across the stream, at the west end of the castle, into a deep fosse, which defended the fortress on the west and north, emptying itself into the river at the east end

* Patten's Expedition, p. 86-89.

† Cardonnel's Numismata Scotica, p. 83.

‡ Buchanan. Hist. Lib. xiii. c. 40, 41. Vide also Redpath's Border Hist. p. 404, 405.

thereof. Over this moat, at the gateway from the town, was thrown a drawbridge, the remains of which were but lately removed.*

The importance of this castle in early ages, appears not only from a mint being established here, at least as early as the reign of David I., but, as far as we can judge from the varieties that occur, from its pre-eminence as the principal mint of the kingdom. In my small collection of Scottish coins, I have, among those struck at Roxburgh by William, the following changes in the legend; *Ro. Roc. Roce. Roceb. Rocebu. Rocesu. Rocebur. Rocbur*, and *Roceburc*. Snelling and Cardonnel mention other varieties, as *Rocab.* and *Roci*. I have one evidently of an earlier coinage, and viewed by competent judges as a penny of David I., which bears on the reverse *On Rocas*.

On the peninsula stood the ancient town of Roxburgh, of which I have elsewhere given some account.† On the farm of Friars, which has its name from a convent of Franciscans that stood here, I, some years ago, saw part of a vault opened, which was viewed as having an arched way, through which those in the castle could securely pass, under the Teviot, from the fortress to the town. The work of exploring it was, however, discontinued.

On the other side of Tweed, opposite to the castle, is the large and handsome house of Fleurs, the seat of the Duke of Roxburgh, whose chief designation forms another memorial of this ancient fortress. Near this, on the road to Kelso, appears the mansion of Sir John Douglas, Bart. of Springwood-Park; and towards the south, Maison Dieu, an ancient asylum for pilgrims, formerly designated "the Maison Dieu of Roxburgh." Beyond the confluence of the rivers, the eye is delighted with the prospect of the elegant bridge of Kelso, and the lofty ruins of its venerable abbey.

Two miles west from the castle stands a village, pleasantly situated near the banks of Teviot, generally known by the name of *Auld Ros-*

* Stat. Acc. xix. 116.

† Vide Sletzer's Thesaurus, Illustrations, vo. *Kelso*, p. 54, 55.

brugh. It had formerly been of considerable extent, but now contains only about two hundred inhabitants. It is the site of the parish church of Roxburgh. What relation it bore, in past ages, to the castle; whether this was confined to the service which might be supplied by its mills; or what was the reason of a name being given to it expressive of antiquity,—are questions which I cannot pretend to answer.*

He who surveys the remains of this once celebrated fortress, can scarcely do so without melancholy reflections. When he views the place, which was so often the scene of royal pomp, and grandeur, and festivity,—brightened by the espousals or the births of those to whom nobles did homage; where sovereigns gave forth laws, and subjects swore allegiance; where the sage, and the brave, and the beautiful were assembled;—irresistibly carrying back his imaginative recollections to times of which there exists no historical or even traditionary record;—and sees now only a bare knoll, where the sheep broozes,—or tufted by a few trees growing up among ruins; how impressive the picture of the transitory nature of all human glory! One consoling idea alone remains. Even these sombre vestiges of desolation proclaim a privilege,—of the value of which we have by far too slight a

* I had nearly finished this article, before meeting with an excellent description of the same fortress, in the *Topographical and Historical Account of the Town of Kelso, and the Town and Castle of Roxburgh*, by Mr James Haig, of the Advocates Library, published at Edinburgh, 1825. I beg leave to refer those, who wish to be more particularly acquainted with the history of this ancient fortress, to this work. It has been executed with such attention, that an earlier acquaintance with it might have precluded the necessity of a great deal of minute research on my part. I view it as the best piece of local history I have seen; and trust that it will be more generally known. As, in Scotland, we have to regret the want of such topographical works as adorn the literature of the southern division of our island, I sincerely wish that Mr Haig might meet with the encouragement necessary for giving us the history of the county of Roxburgh, if not with the same minuteness, with equal accuracy.

sense,—the happiness of the times in which we live, as contrasted with those of our forefathers; when the accidental circumstance, of being born on this or on that side of a fictitious line of demarcation, necessarily rendered men irreconcilable enemies, from the day of their birth till they might chance to rest together in the grave.





FORLEVIOI.

Forteviot.

THE strange propensity of the human mind to romance, has induced numberless writers, not only to desert the path of real history, but to prefer that of fiction, even where the other would have been much easier. Boece, having, by a false reading, found a *Berigonium* in Ptolemy's Geography, transplanted it from Galloway to Argyleshire; and gave the name to the royal seat of the Dalriadic kings, in a district where the word had never been uttered. It was only acting consistently to pay a similar compliment to the Pictish monarchy. Accordingly, finding *Camelodunum* mentioned in the Roman Itineraries, attracted by a similarity of the name, he gives it to our *Camelon* on Carron; and although this was merely a Roman station on the wall of Antonine, Boece converted it into the metropolis of the Pictish kingdom, founded by one whom he calls Cruthneus *Camelonus*, and named after him,* while he leaves the true seat of royal power in total oblivion.

Pennant has observed, that *Fort-teviot*, as he writes the term, was "once the site of a Pictish palace, where Kenneth II. departed this life, and where Malcolm Canmore is said to have resided."† Pinkerton says, that "Forteviot, near the river Ern, south of Perth," was

* Boeth. Hist. F. xii. a. Gordon's Itiner. Septentr. p. 23.

† Tour in Scotland, 1772, p. 88.

“ the chief residence of the *Pikish* kings,” as he denominates them, “ after the recovery of Lothian in 684. Before that time, as appears from Adomnan, they resided near Inverness.”*

In consequence of the fabulous accounts given of the Pictish capital, the notices we have of the place to which this honour properly belonged are extremely slender. The earliest instance of the occurrence of this name is in that valuable and authentic monument of antiquity, written about the year 1020, the *Chronicon Pictorum*, where it is said that Drust, the son of Ferat, “ was killed at Forteviot; according to others at Scone.”† Kenneth, the son of Alpin, King of the Scots, who, asserting his rightful claim to the Pictish throne, obtained possession of it, in consequence of the defeat and death of Ferat or Feredath, had taken up his residence here. For we learn, from the same *Chronicon*, that he died [about 857] in the palace of *Fothuirtabaicht*.‡ He was succeeded by his brother Donald, in whose time the *Goedeli*, or Scots, with their king, “ established the laws of Ed the son of Ecdach, in the same place.”§

There is considerable variety in the old orthography of this name. In the two places above quoted, it is given by Innes *Forthuir-tabaicht*, and *Fothur-thabaicht*.|| It occurs in the form of *Fetherteviet*, in a charter of William the Lion.¶ Fordun, when recording the death of Kenneth Macalpin, gives it in the more modernized form of *Forthevioth*; and also quotes an old Latin rhythm, in which it is written *Fortheviot*, or, according to other MSS., *Forteviach*.** In charters

* Enquiry, iv. 177.

† Drust fil. Ferat 3 an. Hic occisus est apud Forteviot; secundum alios, apud Sconam. Innes's Critical Essay, ii. 801.

‡ Cinadius—filius Alpini—mortuus est—in palacio *Fothuirtabaicht*. Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 492.

§ Dunevaldus, frater ejus, &c. In hujus tempore, jura ac leges regni, Edi filii Ecdach, fecerunt Goedeli cum rege suo in *Fothiurthabaicht*, (sic). Ibid.

|| Crit. Essay, ii. 783.

¶ Chartular. Scon. Macfarlane's MSS. p. 20. Adv. Libr.

** Scotichron. Lib. iv. p. 179, 186.

of Robert Bruce, it appears as *Fortuvett* and *Fortiuolt*.* Wyntoun quotes the same rhythm, giving it as Kenneth's epitaph at Icolmkill.

Lawys he mád that eftyr syne
War cald the Lawys Mak- Alpyne.

At *Fortevyot* hys lyf twk end.

Til Icolmkil than wes he send :

Thare enteryd yhit he lyis

Wndyr Epitaphe on this wyis ;

Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kynedus,

Filius Alpini, prelia multa gerens.

Expulsis Pictis regnaverat octo bis annis :

Et post Fortevyot mortuus ille fuit.

CRONYKIL, B. vi. c. 8, v. 29.

There seems no reason to doubt, that *Fortemet*, which Sir James Dalrymple has given, as occurring in a copy of these Latin verses in one MS., is an error.† On the margin, he explains it *Forteivet*, which gives the common pronunciation better than *Forteviot*.

Innes, when referring to the name *Fothurtabaicht*, says ; “ I believe the many names of old places in those parts, which now begin by the syllable *For* ; as *Forfar*, *Forres*, *Fordyce*, &c. may have formerly been written *Fothur*, or *Fothuir* ; and it is in that way of writing that the true meaning of the word must be sought.”‡

It has been conjectured, indeed, by a very acute writer, that *Fother*, said to have been “ destroyed by the pagans, *i. e.* the Danes, about the year 900,” was *Forteviot*.§ The author of “ *Caledonia*”

* Robertson's Ind. p. 19, Nos. 88, 104.

† *Vide Collections*, p. 90.

‡ Crit. Essay, p. 77, 78.

§ Macpherson's Geogr. Illustr. *in voc.* *Vide Innes, ut sup.* p. 785. The latter writer proposes to read *Forres*. But this seems to be written *Fodresach*, in the same chronicle, (*ibid.* p. 787,) which corresponds with *Forres* in Wyntoun, i. 176, or, as he writes it, *Foras* in Moray.

goes still farther: for he makes *Fortren* the same with Forteviot. "Aodh-fin," he says, "penetrated to *Fortren*, the Pictish capital, in Strathern, during 767 A. D.;"* and, in the Index, he refers to this passage in these words; "*Forteviot*, the Pictish capital." Pinkerton has observed, that Tighernac, in his "Annals, often calls Pikland *Fortren*, from the king's residence at Forteviot, or some chief town; as the Laws of Howel Dha term the King of England, King of London."† To me it seems almost certain, that, during the Pictish times, this term rather denoted a particular place than a district. For, in the Annals of Ulster, under the year 762, it is said, "*Bruide rex Fortren moritur*." This may indeed be rendered, "Bruide, king of Fortren, dies."‡ But as, immediately after, we read of a "Battle at Fortren between Aod and Cinach," it is more consistent to understand it as signifying that Brude the king died at Fortren.

Some have deduced the name *Forthiur-tabacht* from Gaelic *foirthir*, remote, and *tabachta*, state or condition; as denoting the remote situation of Forteviot from "Stirling, Perth, or Abernethy, ancient seats of government."§ But this is quite unsatisfactory; as the place referred to could not be called distant, either from Perth or Abernethy. In the same language, *fora* and *fortha* denote a seat, and *tamhait*, pronounced *tavait*, a habitation, from *tamh* (*tav*) rest, *tam haigh-im*, to reside, to inhabit. In Welsh, *fothir* signifies a good country. But the origin is still uncertain.

"This place," we are told, "seems to have been a favourite residence of King "Malcolm Canmore; and many charters are said to bear date from it."|| Among those published by Anderson, I have observed one only dated here, by Malcolm IV.¶

The birth-place, indeed, of a natural son of the celebrated Canmore has, by local tradition, been assigned to the vicinity. It is said, that

* Caledonia, i. 296. See also the History of the Ancient Culdees, p. 139.

† Enquiry, i. 302.

§ Stat. Acc. xx. 118.

¶ Diplomata, No. 25.

‡ Enquiry, ii. 314.

|| Stat. Acc. xx. 124, 125.

the occupant of the corn-mill, still standing here, had a very beautiful daughter of the name of Helen, who bore a son to him; that he being highly honoured by William Rufus, because of his gallantry, was supported by him in his successful attack on Donald, who usurped the Scottish throne after the death of Canmore; that he reigned for eighteen months, but was afterwards murdered in Menteith, at the instigation of Donald.

This undoubtedly in so far tallies with the account given by our ancient chroniclers. They generally agree that this was the natural son of Canmore, and that his name was Duncan.* But Wyntoun, the only ancient writer, as far as I have observed, who describes his origin, makes him the son of that Duncan who was murdered by Macbeth; asserting, at the same time, that this spurious child was Canmore himself. He relates that "king Duncan having been all day engaged in hunting, and having parted from his company,—under night, found himself at a loss for lodging, till he accidentally came to the Mill of Forteviot, the possessor of which treated him with the greatest hospitality.

Than wes he wyll of hys herbry.
 Yhit nevyr-the-les, swa wawerand will, ^a
 Of hapnyng he come to the Myll
 Of Fortewyot.—
 This mylnare ^b had a dowchtyr fayre
 That to the kyng had oft repayre.—
 He—tuk, and chesyde ^c that woman
 To be fra thine ^d hys luwyd ^e lemman.
 That ilke nyght, that the kyng
 Tuk wyth the mylnare hys gesnyng, ^f

* Fordun. Lib. v. c. 28. Chron. Sax. p. 199. Boeth. Fol. 170. Hailes' Ann. i. 44, 46.

^a Wandering in a bewildered state.

^b Miller.

^c Chose.

^d Thenceforth.

^e Beloved.

^f Hospitable entertainment.

In-to bede wyth hyr he lay,
 And gat on hyr a sowne ^a or ^b day
 That wes Malcolme, of Scotland
 Thare-eftyre crownyd kyng regnand.

WYNTOUN, B. vi. c. 16, v. 20, &c.

According to the good Prior of Saint Serf's Inch, the intercourse between the parties was sanctioned by the miller. But the local tradition, with greater decorum, points out a small height near the site of the palace, as the place where the lovers were wont to meet. This is still called *Nell's Know*, after the name of the frail fair.

The idea of Wyntoun is adopted in the Statistical Account, in regard to the royal personage who had his nativity here. "The mill of Forteviot," it is said, "and the Coblehaugh, mentioned by Andrew Wyntoun, yet remain. At Coblehaugh was the boat for ferrying over the Earn. The miller's daughter was mother to Malcolm Canmore."* As Wyntoun could find no higher pedigree, in the female line, for Canmore, he tries to make up for it the best way he could, by giving a particular enumeration of the honourable descendents of *the Maid of the Mill*. For he shews, that she was not only the ancestress of our Scottish royal family, but of that of England, of the empress Maud, of the Earls of Boulogne, and even of pope Clement the seventh.

Forteviot has acquired additional interest, from the circumstance of the fatal and disgraceful battle of Dupplin having been fought in its immediate vicinity. Edward Baliol, having landed near Kinghorn, and routed the troops under the earl of Fife who opposed his landing, marched northward, and encamped on the *Millar's Acre* at Forteviot, August 18th, 1332. The earl of Mar heard at Perth,

That all thare fays cummyn ware
 To *Fortewyot*, and thaim thare

* Stat. Acc. xx. 124.

^a Son.

^b Before.

Had lwgyd in a lytil plas,
 The *Mylnarys Akre* it callyd was ;
 And men sayis, bath hors and man
 In that akyre war lwgyd than.

WYNTOUN, B. viii. c. 26, v. 67.

The earl of Mar was encamped, with a numerous army, on a rising ground on the opposite side of the river Earn, near to Dupplin. The contemptible appearance of Baliol's forces, confined within such narrow bounds, proved a snare to the royal army, who laughed at the idea of danger from a mere handful of enemies. Total carelessness was the natural consequence; and ere day dawned, the English had crossed the river, and attacking an army that had abandoned itself to intemperance, easily put it to a complete rout. Some monuments of antiquity appear in the neighbourhood; but whether they have been erected as memorials of this disastrous battle, or claim an earlier era, is uncertain.—“There is a stone cross, quite entire,” a good way up the acclivity, “on the opposite bank of the Earn, almost straight north from the ford by which Baliol's army passed the river; and another on the south of Forteviot, upon a rising ground, called Dronachy, lying broken over at the pedestal, on which are many emblematical figures. About half a mile north from the first of these, a large tumulus or cairn was opened about thirty years ago,—and in it were found some coffins formed of rough flat stones, containing many fragments of bones.”* About thirty years ago a stone was found near the site of the palace, having two lambs carved on it. This is now in the possession of Lord Ruthven.

It would appear that the lands of Forteviot remained as royal property till the reign of Robert Bruce. As mention is made of a charter of his, granting “the lands of *Kurdeny* and *Fortuvett*” to Duncan Murdisone,† we find that Malcolm the son of Mordac, (probably the son or brother of Duncan Murdisone, i. e. Duncan the son of Mordac,)

* Stat. Acc. xx. 125.

† Robertson's Ind. p. 19.

in the reign of Robert II. resigned "the land of *Kyndevy*, in *tene-mento* de Fortevyot:" and afterwards, by a charter during the same reign, "the lands of Rate, with the lands and miln of Forteviot," are given by the king to John Stewart, one of his bastard sons by Marion Cardny.* These, with other lands, were entailed to at least four sons by this mother, in succession, to return to the king, if they should all die without heirs.† We find that a payment was made, A. 1405, to James Stewart of *Ffertevelyot*, out of the customs of Aberdeen, of ten pounds annually, to be paid to him during his life.‡

This palace was erected on the Halyhill, a small eminence a little to the northwest of the village, about two hundred yards from the place where the church now stands, nearly six miles southwest from Perth. Great part of the site has been carried off by the inroads of the water of May, which often rushes down from the Ochil hills like a torrent. Every vestige of the ruins, and even of the ground on which they stood, has now disappeared. Some persons yet alive recollect that, about fifty years ago, an acre of ground was covered with the ruins; and that part of the walls, to the height of from fifteen to twenty feet, was then standing. The writer of this account, more than forty years ago, saw a small part of the walls remaining. Unless we should suppose that the May has in some later age left its original tract, or has become more violent in its course, it was undoubtedly a very ill-chosen site for a royal residence, especially as the place where the palace stood appears as a bed of loose gravel. This stream takes its rise in the hills, about two miles south from Dunning, and, after describing a curve of about eight miles in length, somewhat resembling a reaping hook, falls into the Earn nearly opposite to Dupplin. The name of *May* has been traced to the ancient British language. *Mai* and *My-ae*, it has been said, signify "the agitated, or troubled water;" this name being in fact highly descriptive of the streams thus deno-

* Robertson's Ind. pp. 95. 124.

† Stewart's Acc. Royal Family, p. 59.

‡ Chamberl. Acc. ii. 642.

minated, both in Strathearn and in Caernarvonshire. * “The ruinous buildings on the Halyhill,” we are informed, “were visited as an object of curiosity so late as the reign of Charles I.: but nothing now remains of these buildings, and only a part of the eminence on which they stood; as the water of Mey, by undermining *below*, is continually washing away less or more of the rubbish. *The King’s Haugh*, a little east from the place, still retains the name. Tradition informs us, that some houses in the neighbourhood have been built, or rebuilt, of the stones of the palace at Halyhill; and some of these are easily distinguished by the antiquated figures cut thereon:—The *Pleasure-green*, too, the scene of ancient exercises and amusements, is still used by the schoolboys in their diversions.—The Halyhill is at present (in the year 1798) only about half as big as it was thirty years ago.”†

Alexander Ruthven, of Freeland, paternal uncle to that nobleman who was engaged in the *Raid of Ruthven*, had from his nephew, as Earl of Gowrie, a charter, dated August 1st 1585, of part of the lands of Forteviot. His grandson, Sir Thomas Ruthven, received a charter of the lands of Forteviot, united into the barony of Kirktown-Malar, 7th February 1650; and was, by Charles II., created a peer, by the title of Lord Ruthven of Freeland, 1651. Although, unluckily, the patent was burned with the house of Freeland, A. 1750, it is understood that the honours were to heirs general, as the title was kept on the union-roll; and it is not mentioned among the dubious peerages in the reports of the Lords of Session to the house of Peers, 1740. ‡

* Caledonia, i. 47.

† Stat. Acc. xx. 125. In the account of another parish, a very curious etymon is given of the designation *Ochil hills*, or *Ochills*. This term, it is said, “is purely English, and seems to be compounded of *oak* and *hills*, as if the word were written *Oak-hills*.” iii. p. 305. Mr Chalmers has, with great verisimilitude, traced the term to British, *Uchel*, signifying high, lofty, &c. Speaking of Ocelum Promontorium, Spurn-head, Baxter says; Est autem de Britannorum *Ychel*, antiquis forsan *Ochel*, quod est excelsum, Glossar.

‡ Wood’s Peerage, ii. 463, 464.

We learn, from the same account, that the ancient church of Forteviot is said to have been founded by Hungus king of the Picts, who lived near the downfall of the Pictish kingdom, and to whom this district belonged.* From the traditionary name of the rising ground on which the palace stood, *Halyhill*, it might seem probable that the place had been primarily appropriated to the purposes of religion. One difficulty, however, occurs here. This name must have had its rise, when Celtic was not spoken in this part of the country.

The writer of this Statistical Account had not been aware, that here he was not giving mere local and vulgar tradition, but referring to one of the best attested facts in the ancient history of our country. From the Register of St Andrew's, while making allowance for the superstitious ideas interwoven with the genuine history of that age, we learn that Regulus and his companions, "proceeded from Muckross, with the sacred reliques of the holy Apostle Andrew to *Forteviet*: that there they found the three sons of King Hungus, viz. Howan, and Nechtan, and Phinguineghert: that, their father being then absent on an expedition to Argyle, as his sons were very anxious in regard to his life, they devoted to God and St Andrew the tenth part, *de urbe Forteviet*, of the city of Forteviet. There, a cross being erected, they blessed the place, and the king's sons the inhabitants of it." An account follows of the safe return of the king, who having met these holy men, "came with them to *Forteviet*; and there erected a temple to God and his Apostle."† Hungus, or Ungust II., began to reign, A. 821.‡

When it is said, in a passage above quoted, that "the ruinous buildings were visited as an object of curiosity, so late as the reign of Charles I.," it seems probable that the writer refers to the language of Mr Henry Adamson, in the account given by him of the tour of his friends Ruthven and Gall:—

* Stat. Acc. xx. 121.

† Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 458, 459.

‡ Ibid, i. 309.

Right over to *Forteviot* did we hy,
 And there the ruin'd castle did we spy
 Of Malcolm Kenmure, whom Macduff then Thane
 Of Fyffe (so call'd) from England brought again;
 And fiercely did pursue tyrant Macbeth,
 Usurper of the crown, even to the death.
 Their castle's ruins when we did consider,
 We saw that wasting time makes all things wither.

MUSE'S THRENODIE, p. 177, 178

The scenery here is rich and interesting, and the prospect very extensive. On the opposite bank of the Earn, are the handsome mansion and beautiful pleasure grounds of the Earl of Kinnoull.* Invermay, whence the family of Belches take their title, is situated to the southward, on the banks of May, in one of the most romantic and delightful spots in this district. Notwithstanding its Gaelic name, marking its situation near the mouth of May, it does not appear that there exists any proof of its being very ancient. The earliest mention I have found of it is in the year 1609. The barony of *Invermay* was, A. 1617, the property of Robert Grahame of Invermeithe, brother to John Earl of Montrose.† This place gave rise to the well-known ballad of the *Birks of Invermay*. The banks being covered with wood, the *birk*, or birch, holds a conspicuous place, and perpetuates the scenery described in the ballad.

The smiling morn, the breathing spring,
 Invite the tuneful birds to sing;
 And while they warble from each spray,
 Love melts the universal lay, &c.

Mallet, the poet, wrote the two first verses; and Dr Bryce of Kirk-

* I regret that there should be reason to say, that, since these remarks were written, the house of Dupplin has fallen a prey to the flames.

† Inquis. Return. ii. Perthshire, 191, 250.

newton, it is said, added other three. There has been much controversy in regard to the locality of this song; because Mallet laid the scene in *Endermay*, and Allan Ramsay, we are told, changed it to *Invermay*.* But this controversy was as groundless as any that can well be imagined; for every one who has paid the slightest attention to the pronunciation of local designations in Scotland, must have observed that *Inner* and *Ender* are far more commonly used than *Inver*, which is only the pronunciation of the higher classes. Thus *Indermay*, or *Endermay*, is the name given to this place by the vulgar.

In the vicinity, at Gask hall, Henry the Minstrel has laid the scene of a singular *mellé* between the gallant Wallace and the ghost of Fawdoun, one of his followers who had fallen back under pretence of fatigue, but had been killed by two of his friends under suspicion of being a traitor, and intending to join the English, who were in pursuit. The only weapon of warfare,—to allude to the title of one of our old poems,—was the *deid* man's *pow*.

With out the dur Fawdon was him beforn, a
 As till his sycht, his awne hed b in his hand;
 A croyss c he maid, quhen he saw him so stand.
 At Wallace in the hed he swaket d thar;
 And he in haist sone hynt e [it] by the hair,
 Syne out agayne at him he couth it cast;
 In till his hart he was gretlye agast.
 Rycht weill he trowit that was no spreit f of man;
 It was some dewill g at h sic malice began.
 He wyst no waill i thar langar for to bide.

WALLACE, B. V. v. 192.

Another royal residence is mentioned as coeval with Forteviot.

* Cunningham's Scottish Songs, iii. 106, 107.

a Before.

b Head.

c Cross.

d Threw.

e Laid hold of.

f Spirit.

g Devil.

h That.

i It was of no avail.

For in the account given of the establishment of the laws of Ed, by Donald, at Forteviot, it is immediately added; "He died, in the ides of April, in his palace of *Belachoir*."* David Macpherson suggests that *Belochoir*, (for this is his orthography,) should perhaps be read *Ba-loch-oir*, "i. e. the mouth of Loch Ore, (in Fife,) where, on a small isle, there was a castle, probably a residence of king Donald son of Alpin."†

The same Donald, however, is elsewhere said to have died at *Raith in Veramont*. This is obviously the same with *Rathveramon*, where Constantine, reckoned the fourth of the name, the son of Culen, was slain by Kenneth the son of Malcolm I.‡ Under this designation, Macpherson remarks: "Perhaps Bertha or Skune may be intended; and, if so, the true reading may be *Raith-inver-Amont*, i. e. the palace at the mouth of Amund: but the discordance of the ancient accounts renders it impossible to fix its position." Mr Chalmers has adopted this idea more expressly, but apparently to the exclusion of Scone. "Rath-inver-amon," he says, "as the name imports, was a *strength* or *fortress*, which the Scottish kings had at the influx of the Amon into the Tay. This strength, with the adjoining village of Bertha, was

* Obiit in palacio suo Belachoir, id. April. Ibid.

In a note, Innes says, F. (fortasse) suo *Belachor*; de quo fit mentio apud scriptorem vitæ S. Cadroes Scoti. Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, p. 783. The only intelligence I can find, concerning this palace, is in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, Vol i. p. 495; and it is by no means satisfactory. Post pelagus Britanniae contiguum perlegentes, per *Rosint* amnem *Rossiam* regionem manserunt, *Rigmonath*, quoque *Bellethor* urbes, a se procul positas, petentes, possessuri vicerunt; sicque totam terram suo nomine *Chorischiam* nominatam, &c. In the Index, p. 502, the name is written *Belachor*. It must have been either in Ross-shire or in its vicinity. It might be supposed that two names in the parish of Contin, in this county, have some resemblance to two mentioned in this extract, that of the river *Rasay*, and Loch-*Chrosk*. Stat. Acc. vii. 162, 163. Were it not for the distance of place, the city *Rigmonath* might seem the same which is elsewhere given as *Rigmund* and *Rymont*, afterwards St Andrews.

† Vide Macpherson's Illustrations in vo.

‡ Extracts from the Register of the Priory of St Andrews, Innes, *ut sup.* p. 801, 802.

swept away by a river-flood, in the beginning of the 13th century.*

Fordun asserts that Donald Macalpin died at the palace of Scone; although this, in the old Latin rhythm quoted by him, is given only as matter of report or tradition.† But while, in the old chronicle, both Donald and Constantine are said to have died at the same place, *Inveramon*, it is worthy of observation, that both Fordun and Wynthoun quote this chronicle as testifying that the latter was slain at the head of the river Amond."

Rex Constantinus, Culeno filius ortus,
Ad caput amnis Amond ense peremptus erat.‡

The sole difference is, that the Prior of St Serf's calls the river *Awyne*.

At the wattyr hed of Awyne
The kyng Gryme slwe this Constantyne.

Fordun expressly says that this Amond is in Lothian.|| Whatever be the estimate of Boece's evidence, here it materially agrees with that of Fordun. Constantine, he says, "came with an army of twenty thousand men into Lothian, and learned, by his scouts, that Kenneth with his forces, had taken a position at the *mouth* of the river Amund, three miles from Edinburgh."§ Sir John Skene adopts this account. Constantine, he says, "was slaine in battell at the town of Crawmond in Lothian."* I know not whether it might be from local vicinity

* Caledonia, i. 377, 378. N.

† Sconae fertur subditus esse neci. Scotichron. Lib. iv. c. 15. Also, Wynthoun, B. vi. c. 8, v. 52.

‡ Scotichron. Lib. iv. c. 37. Wynthoun, B. vi. c. 10. v. 169.

|| In Laudonia juxta ripam amnis Almond. Loc. cit. *Aven* occurs in the Chron. of Mailros, Gale, i. 597.

§ Scotichron. Lib. xi. c. 11.

that Macpherson has thrown out an idea concerning *Rathveramon*, which would thus seem to be identified with Crawmond, that it might possibly be "*Rathau* or *Rathow* near the Amund." He also attempts to reconcile Fordun with Wyntoun, who calls it Awyne, i. e. Avon, by observing that "the field of battle might be equally near to both rivers."†

* Table of all the Kings of Scotland. — † Vo. *Amund*, *Rathau*, and *Rathveramoen*.





Drawn by W. Brown.

Engraved by J. Horsburgh.

ABERNETHY.

Abernethy.

ABERNETHY lies at the distance of about ten miles from Forteviot, on the same river, very near the junction of Earn with Tay. This place, which is now a mean village, once boasted high honours, and had very considerable extent. I have elsewhere pretty fully illustrated its early ecclesiastical state, when the lordly St Andrews was unknown.* It seems most probable, that it owed its temporal honours, in a considerable degree, to its ecclesiastical superiority; and that the Pictish kings chose this as their metropolis, because of the celebrity it had acquired on account of its supposed sanctity.

It would appear, however, that it was a royal residence in the reign of one of the Pictish princes who bore the name of Nethan, or Nectan. The Pictish Chronicle has ascribed the foundation of Abernethy to Nethan I., in the third year of his reign, corresponding with A. 458. The Register of St Andrews, with greater probability, gives it to Nethan II., about the year 600. Fordun and Wyntoun agree in assigning it to Garnat, or Garnard, the predecessor of the second Nethan.† Abernethy had existed as a royal seat perhaps before the building of any conspicuous place of worship. For, we learn, that the Nethan referred to “sacrificed to God and St Bridget *at Aburnethige*,” and that the same Nethan, “king of all the provinces of the

* History of the Culdees, pp. 105–115. † Vide Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 296, 297.

Picts, gave as an offering to St Bridget *Apurnethige*, till the day of judgment.”*

Fordun expressly asserts, that, when this donation was made, Abernethy was “the chief seat, both regal and pontifical, of the whole kingdom of the Picts.”† He afterwards relates, that, in the year 1072, Malcolm Canmore did homage, in the place called Abernethy, to William the Bastard, for the lands which he held in England.‡ The same fact is related in the Chronicle of Mailros, under the same year.||

I have elsewhere thrown out a conjecture, that this place may have been denominated from the name of *Nethan* the founder.§ It has been said, indeed, that “the name which Highlanders give to Abernethy, is *Obair* or *Abair Neuchtain*, that is, *the work of Nechtan*.”¶ But it seems preferable to derive it from *Nethy*, the name of the brook on which it stands. The late learned Chalmers was perfectly satisfied that British *Aber* properly “signifies a confluence of water, the junction of rivers, the fall of a lesser river into a greater, or into the sea;” that, “in the topography both of North and South Britain, it is uniformly applied to the influx of a river into the sea, or into some other stream.” Having asserted, that “this ancient British word cannot be referred to the Saxon or German *Ober*, the root of the English *Over*, which is totally different in its meaning and mode of application;” he adds, “It is a curious fact, which we learn from the charters of the twelfth century, that the Scoto-Irish people substituted their *Inver*, for the previous *Aber* of the Britons.” In confirmation of this idea, he gives the following proof: “It is an equally curious fact, that the influx of the *Nethy* into the Ern, which had been named *Aber-nethy*, by the Britons, was called *Inver-nethy* by the Scoto-Irish; and both these names still remain.”**

* Chronicon Pict. ibid. i. 490, 491. Innes, Crit. Essay, p. 778, 800.

† Scotichron. Lib. iv. c. 12.

‡ Ibid, Lib. v. c. 18.

|| Anno M.LXXII. Willielmus Scotiam intravit, cui occurrent rex Malcolmus in loco qui dicitur *Abernithi*, homo suus devenit. P. 160.

§ Hist. Anc. Culdees, p. 107.

¶ Stat. Acc. xi. 435.

** Caledonia, i. 34.

Now, in order to give due weight to the argument, it ought to have been shown, that the one name had taken place of the other; for it is no good proof of the substitution of *Inver* for *Aber*, or of their both having precisely the same signification, that "both these names still remain." Besides, from the mode of reasoning, a stranger would naturally conclude that both these names had been given, although in different periods, to the same place. But there is not a peasant in the country who would not laugh at the idea. Invernethy is, and always was, at the mouth of the rivulet Nethy, where it falls into the Earn. But Abernethy stands more than a mile higher up. *Aberargie*, in the vicinity, from *Aber* and *Farg*, (the name of another small stream in the state of construction, in which, according to the Gaelic idiom, the initial letter is lost,)—lies about a mile distant from the Earn.

But there are instances in which *Aber* cannot admit of this signification; as that of Aberlemno, in Angus, celebrated for the obelisks erected in commemoration of the defeat of the Danes. For this name is undoubtedly formed from *Lemno*, the designation of a small stream on which the village stands. Although here not above a mile distant from the South-Esk, yet on account of the hilly ground intervening, it takes a circuit of six or seven miles, ere it reach this river. Can *Aberlemno* then signify "the mouth of the *Lemno*?" It can have no meaning, unless as equivalent to German *über*, pronounced q. *eber*, Alem annic *upar*, above, as denoting a higher situation. Wachter and Haltaus have both remarked, that, in German, *Aber* is occasionally used as equivalent to *Ober* and *Uber*.

Chalmers has also spoken of the term *Fortren*, as if it had denoted this place, or been equivalent to its common name. "The Ulster Annals," he says, "under the year 864, speak magnificently of the death of Tuathal, the archbishop of *Fortren*, or Abernethy."* It is possible that he might merely mean the words, "or Abernethy," as exegetical, or as marking the place in Fortren, which was the seat of Tuathal.

* Caledonia, i. 431. N.

For all that we find in the Annals is ; “ Tuahal Mac Artgusa, archbishop of Fortren, and abbot of Dun Callen [Dunkeld] dormivit.”* He is, however, rather inconsistent on this point ; as he elsewhere makes Forteviot the capital.† It clearly appears that, in these Annals, *Fortren* is still meant to designate the district or kingdom, not any particular place. In one instance, indeed, mention is made of a “ battle *at* Fortren.” But the passage is given as defective.‡ In other places we read ; “ 663. Bellum Ludhofeirn. i. *in* Fortrin.”—“ 735. Bellum Twini Ouirbre inter Dalriada et Fortrin ;” where the country of Dalriada is opposed to Fortrin. “ 762. Bruide Rex Fortren, moritur ;” evidently signifying that he was king of Fortren. “ 819. Constantine MacFergus, king of Fortren, died.” “ 838. Battle by the gentiles upon Fortren men.”||

Even before the union of the Pictish and Dalriadic kingdoms, if we might credit Boece, an amicable intercourse subsisted with one of the Scottish kings, designed Eochoid, or Achy VII., who is said to have made peace with the Picts and Saxons, and all his neighbours, and indeed to have married Spontana, the daughter of Garnard the Pictish king. He died, we are told, at Abernethy, lamented by men of all ranks. He occasionally visited this royal seat, not merely in consequence of the friendship which subsisted between him and Garnard, but from religious motives. For seven virgins, who formerly resided in the Glen of Ogilvy, a few miles from Dundee, not thinking that their virtue was secure in so solitary a place, after the death of their father, solicited the Pictish king to give them a place for the exercise of religion. As no one could doubt their claim to protection, the eldest sister having so effectually inhibited the wild geese from eating her father’s corn, that not a single goose ever afterwards ventured on the ground, and all of them eating nothing but barley-bread and water, and only once a-day, “ the king gaif tham ane hous in

* Pinkerton’s Enq. ii. 316.

† Caledonia, i. 296.

‡ Ann. Ulst. Pink. Enq. ii. 314.

|| Ibid. p. 310, 313, 315.

Abernethy, with certane rentis to be takin vp of the nixt landis, to thair sustentation, quhare thai leiffit ane deuote lyfe, and war buriit at the rute of ane ayk, quhilk is haldin yit in gret veneration amang the pepil.—Eugenius the VII.—perseuerit in gud peace with Garnard, and visyit [visited] oftymes thir virginis with his liberalite and guddis.”* Unluckily, for the memory of these good ladies, this narrative has no collateral support.

Although the round tower of Abernethy has attracted the attention of many travellers and writers, and been the subject of various hypotheses, no one has ever thought of viewing it as connected with the royal residence; as it was undoubtedly used for some ecclesiastical purpose. That good-humoured old writer, Adamson, assigns a singular reason for the erection of this building; while he seems not to have known that there was another of the same description at Brechin, considerably higher than this. He pretends that this was built by the Picts to prevent the Scots from trampling on the body of their king after his death.

Passing the river Earne, on th' other side,—
Thence to the Pights great Metropolitan,
Where stands a steeple, the like in all Britaine
Not to be found againe, a work of wonder,
So tall and round in frame, a just cylinder,
Built by the Pights in honour of their king,
That of the Scots none should attempt such thing,
As over his bellie big to walk or ride,
But this strong hold should make him to abide.

MUSE'S THRENODIE, p. 172.

This tower is hollow, but without any staircase. At the bottom are two rows of stones, projecting as a sort of pedestal. It is seventy-five feet in height, and consists of sixty-four regular courses of

* Bellenden's Cron. B. ix. c. 25.

hewn stones. At the base it measures forty-eight feet in circumference, but diminishes somewhat towards the top; the thickness of the wall being three feet and a half at the bottom, and three at the top. It has only one door, facing the north; eight feet in height, three wide, and arched. Towards the top are four windows. They are equi-distant; five feet nine inches in height, and two feet two inches in breadth; each being supported by two small pillars.*

Some intelligent visitors assert, that, whatever may have been the original design of this work, it has at one time been used as a cemetery. Where the earth has been dug up, to the depth of three feet, a number of human bones have been found in the exact position in which they must have been interred; which, it is urged, would not have been the case, had they been thrown in from the adjoining ground. It stands at the corner of the present churchyard.

"South-west from the town," we are told, "there is a hill, called *Castle-law*. Tradition says, that there was a fort upon the top of it." "This," it is subjoined, "probably served for one of those watch-towers on which the Picts used to kindle fires, on sudden invasions, insurrections, or the approach of the enemy."† But if any place bids fair to have been the site of a royal residence, this seems to have a principal claim. It follows, however; "About a mile and a half east from Abernethy, a little below the mansion-house of Carpow, stood the ancient castle which belonged to the lords of Abernethy; part of its foundation may be still seen." Now, it might be supposed that here, as in other instances, the person who obtained the grant of royal domains, would prefer the occupation of the ancient residence to the erection of a new one. The distance would be no objection. For I have elsewhere proved, from the most ancient authority, that, during the Pictish æra, Abernethy was far more extensive than it now is; as the king, in his donation to St Brigid, extends its limits to a stone near Carpow.‡

* *Vide Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 164. † *Stat. Acc.* xi. 447, 448.

‡ *Hist. Anc. Culdees*, p. 106, 112.

I acknowledge, however, that the place called *Castle-law* seems to claim the preference. For, from the most minute inquiry, I learn that there is a tradition, perfectly familiar to every one in the vicinity, that this was the residence of the ancient Pictish kings. In confirmation of this article of traditionary belief, an appeal is made, not only to the vast quantity of stones still remaining on this hill, but to the description of those that have been carried off in successive ages. Unlike the materials of the *cairns*, which are so commonly met with in our country, these have, in a great measure, been hewn stones. A house in the neighbourhood has, of late years, been entirely built of dressed stones carried off from the *Law*. There seems, therefore, to be no reason to doubt that this has been the site of very extensive and superb buildings. The remains of a surrounding moat are yet to be traced on the west side. At the bottom of this hill, an eminence is called the *Quarrel-know*, i. e. *knoll*, where, according to tradition, the Picts were wont to celebrate their military games. This may have been its original appropriation, whence in later ages it might continue to be employed for similar purposes. But the name itself can hardly claim so early an origin; having most probably been given to it, in an age in which the use of the cross-bow was common, from the designation of the arrow shot from it, which was called a *quarrel*; unless the term should be traced to our old Scottish word *quarrell*, or *querell*, denoting a quarry.

The view from this elevation has been deemed worthy of its ancient royal honours, as scarcely excelled by any in Scotland, a country so rich in beautiful and picturesque prospects. While the classic Earn unites with the noble Tay at your feet, the eye is delighted with the richness of the Carse of Gowrie; and the prosperous town of Dundee is seen in the distance, with the numerous sails that enliven the expanding river in its course to what was anciently denominated the *Scythic Sea*.

The account, given in the old Pictish Chronicle, may, perhaps, receive elucidation from a fact which I have lately discovered, entirely incidentally, without making any inquiry in regard to the name to

which it refers. I am informed, by a person well acquainted with the locality, that, a little to the west of Abernethy, a rivulet, according to tradition, now called the *Ballo-burn*, was anciently known by the name of the *Trent*. Now in the Pictish Chronicle, according to the extract given by Sir James Balfour, in his MS. Collections, it is said, "Nectane king of the Picts gaue unto God and St Brigide, vntil the day of doome, Abernethy, a well peopled city, with the bounds thereof, which lay from a stone in *Abertrent* to a stone neigh to Carfull, and from thence als far as to Ethan." In the same extract, as given by Innes and Pinkerton, the name is *Apurfeirt*. If we suppose that Sir James Balfour's is the true reading, then *Abertrent* signifies the town or village on, or at the mouth of, the *Trent* or *Ballo-burn*. It is by no means improbable that *Apurfeirt*, to which there is no similar name in the vicinity, had been a false reading of *Apurtrent*, or *Abertrent*.

I have elsewhere said, that "the situation of *Ethan*, or *Athan*,—seems to be now unknown." But it may be proper to observe, that where the Ballo or Trent joins with Earn, there is a place called *Hattan*, or *Hatton*; the name of which, it might be supposed, more nearly resembles *Ethan*, or *Athan*, as given by Innes, than any other name in the vicinity.*

This would make the *bounds* referred to extend about two miles. For *Carpow*, undoubtedly meant by *Carfull* in the old chronicle, lies more than a mile and a half to the east from Abernethy; and, according to tradition, the vestiges of streets and houses have been discovered as extending a great way in this direction.

It must be acknowledged, however, that, notwithstanding similarity of sound in the term *Hatton*, its connexion with *Athan* or *Ethan* is extremely problematical. For I suspect that the proper orthography of *Hatton* is *Haltown*, as pointing out the *hall*, or principal house on this property. For it appears to be this very place which, in an

* Hist. Anc. Culdees, p. 112.

old *Retour*, is thus designated,* in connexion with Carie and some other places well known in its immediate vicinity.

Ayton-House, the property of Joseph Murray, Esquire, can have no connexion; for this name is of recent use, having been borrowed from that of another family property lying at a considerable distance.

There is, I am informed, about a mile south from this town, a hill called *Tarduff*, which belongs to the feuars of the burgh-acres of Abernethy, on the top of which is a piece of rock, exhibiting the appearance of a seat, which is traditionally denominated *St Bridget's Chair*. A quarter of a mile to the westward of this, there is a large stone with a round hole in it, cut artificially, four or five inches in diameter, and of about the same depth. This stone is placed at the source of the *Neth* or *Nethy*. About half a mile to the southward, there is another large stone, with a round hole, nearly of the same size with that already described. This is understood to be the ancient boundary of the hill-lands belonging to the burgh of Abernethy. It is called *the Thirl-stane*, doubtless from its being *bored*; and in our day marks the limits between the parishes of Abernethy and Auchtermuchty, as well as between the counties of Perth and Fife.

It does not appear that any of these can be the stone nigh to Carpow, mentioned in the Pictish chronicles. But there is every reason to suppose, that the term *Tarduff* has some connexion with the distinguished and very ancient family of Macduff, who were Thanes of Fife. From the description given to me, it seems almost certain, indeed, that one of these is the base or pedestal of *Macduff's Cross*, which afforded a sanctuary to all who were related to the family. Its appearance corresponds with the account given by Gordon of the remains of this celebrated cross in his time: "Travelling in search of ancient monuments,—I could not forbear visiting the place where the famous Cross of Macduff is said to have been; but, to my surprise, I found nothing left but the pedestal, in which is *a large cavity*, where the cross anciently stood."†

* Inquis. Retorn. ii. Perth, No. 205.

† Itiner. Septentr. p. 164.





Drawn by W. Brown.

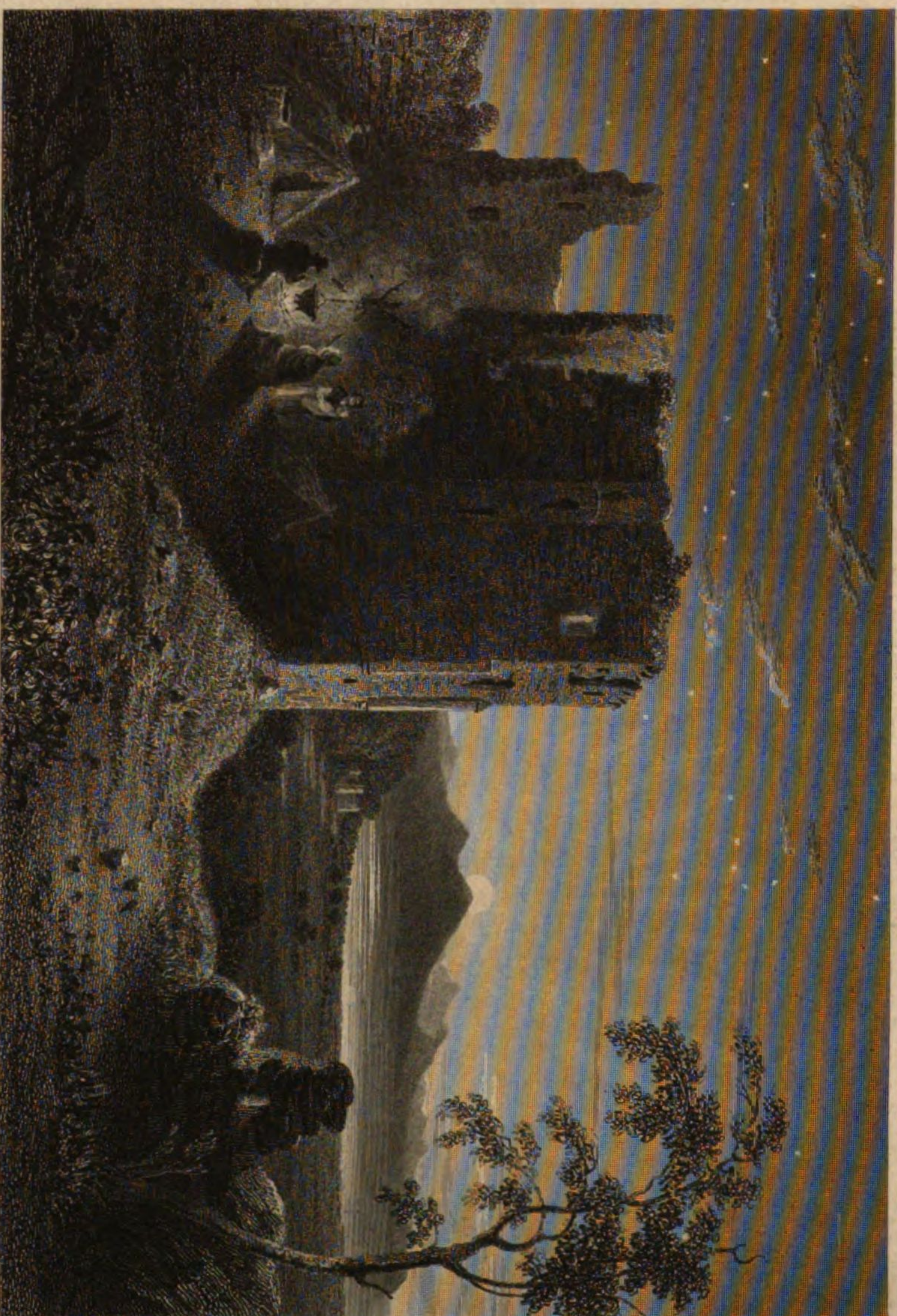
Engraved by W. Forrest.

DUNDONALD.



UNDO





Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

DUNDONALD CASTLE.

Dundonald.

DUNDONALD Castle has never made any conspicuous appearance in our national history ; but it claims attention, as having been the residence of some of our princes of the house of Stewart.

The eminence on which this castle stands is supposed to have given name to the parish of Dundonald. This is situated on the coast of the Firth of Clyde, in that division of Ayrshire which has been denominated *Kyle*, lying between the rivers Doon and Irvine. This is viewed as the district denominated *Campus Cyil*, or *Coil*, in the Additions to Bede's Ecclesiastical History, which, it is said, Eadberht, king of Northumberland, "added to his kingdom in the year 750."* It was subdivided into *Kyle Regis* or *King's Kyle*, lying on the south, and *Kyle Stewart*, on the north, of the river of Ayr. The former was under the jurisdiction of the sheriff; the latter formerly belonged to the Stewarts, and afterwards to the eldest son of the sovereign.† This name appears to be retained in *Coilfield*, and in *Coylton*, or *Coylton*, a parish in this district, lying on the small stream of *Coil* or *Kyle*.‡ Whether the name of this stream has any affinity to that of the region, it is impossible to ascertain. Burns has characterised it

* Bed. Hist. Lib. v. p. 224.

† Camden, iv. 72.

‡ Vide Stat. Acc. i. 101.

as "the brawling Coil." * He also alludes to a popular tradition, in these lines ;

'Twas in that place o' Scotland's isle,
That bears the name o' *Auld King Coil*, † &c.

This fable is very gravely narrated in Bleau's Atlas. The name, it is said, "is from *Coilus*, a king of the Britons, whom Fergus the first, king of Scotland, killed there, after a severe battle, A. 325, before the Christian aera. Of this signal victory various monuments still remain. The plain on which they encountered retains the name of this king; also the church of Coil-town; and the river Coil, which falls into the Ayr, about four miles above the town of this name; and the loch of Fergus, near which the Scots pitched their camp." ‡

This castle "gives name to the earldom in the family of Cochrane. The rising ground on which the castle stands, with five roods of land adjoining, is all the property in this parish which now pertains to that family. No authentic record can be produced" as to the "time when the castle was built, or when it was spoiled of its roof, and rendered desolate. A large pile still remains. The walls are very thick, and built of whinstone, which abounds in the vicinity. The corners are of a freestone, superior in quality to any now found in the parish. The Stuart arms are engrossed in different parts of the building; and the whole has much the form of those castles which were raised in many places of Britain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.— Opposite to the village and castle is a very beautiful bank of wood, upwards, in most places, of a hundred feet in height, and extending near a mile to the northwest." ||

There seems to be no reason to question the origin which has been assigned to the name of this place,—“from the Gaelic *Dun*, signify-

* Burns' Works, iii. 55. Liverpool.

† Ibid, iii. 1.

‡ Bleau, p. 59.

Stat. Acc. vii. 619.

ing a round hill, and secondarily, a fort, or fortified hill, and *Donald*, the name of a man. The name," it is subjoined, " must refer to some more ancient fortlet on this eminence, which had been constructed by some person of the name of Donald. About a mile south of Dundonald, there are two hill forts, upon two adjoining hills. The manor, and parish of Dundonald, belonged to Walter, the son of Alan, the first Stewart, who held the whole of the northern half of Kyle, in the beginning of the reign of William the Lion; and it might have been granted to him by David I., or his successor, Malcolm IV. Perhaps the castle of Dundonald was built by the first Walter, who had no appropriate house, or castle, when he settled in Scotland. It seems to have been the only castle which the Stewarts had in their extensive barony of Kyle Stewart; but several of their vassals had small castles in that district." *

Some writers have asserted, although perhaps rather on doubtful authority, that Walter, the first of this name, and son of Fleance, received from Malcolm Canmore the baronies of Strathgrief, i. e. Renfrew, and Kyle, in lieu of his pretensions to Lochaber. †

I do not know that the name of this place occurs before the mention that is made of it in the designation of Walter, the third of this Christian name, who is designed *of Dundonald*. He was made Justiciary of Scotland by Alexander II. at St Andrews, A. 1230. ‡ It was his son Alexander who behaved so gallantly in the battle of Largs, against the Norwegians. "The castle of Dundonald," says Chalmers, "became the retreat of Robert II., after his retirement from government, upon the death of James, Earl of Douglas, at Otterburn, in 1388." || He must, however, before this date, have occasionally made this the place of his residence. For Sir John Kennedy, of Dunure, having endowed a chapel adjoining to the burial-place of the parish-

* Caledonia, iii. 508.

† Stewart's Account Royal Family, p. 45.

‡ Stewart's Account, *ut sup.* p. 48. Abercromby's Mart. Atchievements, i. 448.

|| Caledonia, iii. 451.

church of Maybole, this grant is confirmed by Robert II. at *Domdouenald*, 4th December 1371.* Another, confirming a grant to Sir Ade de Foulerton, knight, and his spouse, Marjory, of two merks sterling annually from the miln of Corsby, &c., dated at *Doundonnald*, on the same day with the preceding. A third confirms certain rights to Robert Archebalde, chaplain of the hospital of Roxburgh, dated at *Dundonald* on December 5th, 1389.† There are several others in the same register. "Robert II.," it has been remarked, "after he ascended to the throne, lived much in Dundonald Castle, wherein he died, in 1390."‡

This event is particularly commemorated by the good Prior of St Serf's Inch in Lochlevin:

The secownd Robert of Scotland Kyng,
As God purwaid, maid endyng
At Downdownald in his cuntré.
Of a schort seknes thare deyde he.

WYNTOUN, B. ix. c. 10, v. 3.

In the same fortress, his mild, but unfortunate, son and successor, Robert III. occasionally resided. This, it would seem, may be fairly assumed from the supplies provided for the royal family here. As Irvine was the nearest sea-port to Dundonald, and only a few miles distant from it, there is extant a *Compotum* of 1396,—in which it is stated, that there was paid to the burgesses of Irvine, in different instalments, for the use of the house of *our Lord the King*, for goods in vessels and other utensils, ordered by the king's letters under his own seal, £13, 3s. 4d.; and to the officers of the king's house, for their services for that year, £23, 18s. 8d. || There is another, of the baillies of

* Wood's Doug. Peerage, i. 325. Reg. Mag. Sig. p. 83, No. 282. The orthography appears more correct in Robertson's Index, p. 93, No. 282, where it is *Doundovenald*.

† Reg. Mag. Sig. p. 85, No. 296; 184, No. 12.

‡ Pinkerton's Hist. i. 44. Caledonia, iii. 508.

|| Rotul. Compot. ii. 345.

Irwyn, A. 1398, for money paid for the proper use of *our Lord the King*. * From the same source, we learn that herrings had formed no inconsiderable part of the provision made for the royal family. For a charge is stated "for the purchase of six thousand *mayse* of herrings for the use of the king," A. 1402. This *Compotum*, however, apparently refers to Perth. †

I need scarcely remind the reader, that this prince had been baptised by the name of *John*; but that this being deemed an unlucky name, as exemplified in the history of King John of England, of John Baliol, and of John king of France, it was, at his accession, judged expedient that he should assume that of *Robert*. Hence, in the language of the vulgar, he was commonly known by the *sobriquet* of *John Fernyeir*, equivalent to "John of the last year," or "he who was formerly called John."

His first title of honour seems to have been Lord of Kyle; afterwards he was Earl of Carrick; as we learn from Wyntoun:

Syne eftyrwartis all a qwhile
Wyth a gret folk the *Lord of Kyle*,
That syne was Erle of Karryke,
And alsua Prynce of our kynryk,
Made in Annandirdale a rade,
And sa lang tyme thare-in he bade,
Qwhill a all the folk of that cuntré
Consentyt Scottis men to be.

CRONYKIL, B. viii. c. 42, v. 197.

It would appear, that the title above referred to was not, like that of Earl of Carrick, connected with the dignity of heir apparent, but had been given to him, as a younger son, from the patrimonial inheritance of the Stewarts.

This good prince terminated his unhappy reign, April 4th, 1406.

* Rotul. Compot. ii. 394.

† Ibid. ii. 536.

^a Till.

According to Pinkerton, this event took place "at the castle of Rothsay in Bute."* This corresponds with the account given by the continuator of Fordun,† and by Skene in his "Table of all the Kinges of Scotland." But Ruddiman, David Macpherson, and others, give the preference to Wyntoun's testimony, who says that he died at Dundonald.

A thousand and foure hundyr yere
To tha^a the sext all reknyt clere,—
Robert the thrid, our Lord the Kyng,
Maid at Dundownald his endyng.

CRONYKIL, B. ix. c. 26, v. 1.

Not far from this royal seat, the remains of an ancient ecclesiastical foundation are still to be seen, popularly denominated, "Our Lady Kirk of Kyle:" but the time of its erection is quite unknown. I need scarcely say, that the reason of the name was, its being dedicated to the Virgin Mary; in whom, during the ages of popery, the various nations of the west acknowledged their common interest, by the use of the appropriating designation, *Nostra Domina*, *Nostre-Dame*, or *Our Lady*; often with an addition, expressive of some peculiar character, as—*of Grace*,—*of Mercy*, &c. This chapel, accordingly, was called *Capella de la Grace*, as appears from a charter of James IV., A. 1490. From its vicinity to Dundonald, it seems to have, at least, occasionally received some special tokens of royal favour. For the same prince, we are told, never passed through that part of the country without making an offering at "Our Lady's Kirk of *Kyle*." It appears that belonging to this establishment, there was a very useful minister of the church of Rome, who was commonly known as "Our Lady of Kyle's *Pardoner*," and who seems, like others of the same order, to have perambulated the country for the purpose of vending her acts of grace. James IV., being at Edinburgh, December 8th, 1511,

* Hist. Scotl. i. 84.

† Scotichron. ii. 440.

^a These.

gave a gratuity of three shillings to "Our Lady of Kyle's Pardoner." Various instances of his liberality have a prior date. July 6th, 1497, he gave an offering of 14s. in "Our Lady's Kirk of Kyle;" in September of the same year, when he was at "Our Lady Kirk of Kyle," he, by his treasurer, paid £5 for five trentales of masses to be there said for him. *

As this soil is by no means fertile in antiquarian intelligence, the reader may, perhaps, forgive me for calling his attention to a species of fruit that has been always a favourite in our country, which has its name from the immediate vicinity of this ancient royal residence. I have already mentioned the beautiful bank of wood adjoining to the castle. "In a grand curvature of this bank, and on a gentle eminence, stands the house of Auchans, for a long period the residence of the Wallaces of Dundonald. About 1640, this estate came into the possession of Sir William Cochrane of Lowdown, knight; who was afterwards created Earl of Dundonald. Since the beginning of this century, the estate has been the property of the Earl of Eglintoune. At the Auchans are the remains of a small orchard, which was once in high reputation. The pear, known in Scotland by the name of *Auchans*, derived that name from this place. The tree came originally from France, was planted in this orchard, grew to a great height, and was, not long ago, blown down by a storm." † It appears that the Wallaces had preceded the noble family of Dundonald in the possession of this property, as well as that of Auchans." For Douglas mentions "John Wallace of Dundonald and Auchans," as having married a daughter of David Stuart of Castlemilk, some time posterior to the year 1570. ‡ Both father and son, of the same name, are mentioned as proprietors of Dundonald, A. 1572. ||

* Chalmer's Caledonia, iii. 497, 498.

† Baronage, p. 515.

† Stat. Acc. vii. 619, 620.

|| Inquis. Retorn. Ayr, 11.





Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Miller

TERAQUAIR.

Traquair.

THE unpretending appearance of the mansion-house of Traquair, in the county of Peebles, its being almost entirely overlooked in our later historical records, its retired situation, conjoined with the somewhat recluse habits of the noble proprietors,—partly, perhaps, from the peculiarity of their religious creed,—have thrown a veil of obscurity over this place, from which it has a right to emerge, not merely on account of its natural beauties, or the antiquity of the fabric, but especially from the royal lustre which was shed around it in ages that are long past.

On your road from Peebles, along the classic banks of Tweed, after passing the rich and finely cultivated lands of King's Meadows, the seat of Sir John Hay, Baronet; and the romantic scenery of Caillye, that of Robert N. Campbell, Esquire; the ruins of the ancient castle of Horsburgh, the property of a family that bears the same denomination; and the solitary bearings of Cardrona, at the bottom of that steep hill from the summit of which the mansion-house has gradually descended; and seen, to the left, the fine situation of Glen-Ormiston, belonging to William Stuart, Esquire; and turned the angle formed by the beautiful bend of the river;—your eye is at once arrested by the modest beauties of Traquair, towering amidst its ancient woods, as the guardian of its own glen, at the enchanting spot where humble Quair pays its tribute to its lordly superior, that has lent his name to the vale.

The view from it, indeed, is not extensive. But it forms a fine and variegated amphitheatre; including the fertile land on the banks of the river, several richly wooded hills, with hollows of dark-brown heath intervening, the pleasant village of Inverleithen, that takes its name from the *water* of Leithen, which joins the Tweed a little to the south, after leaving its narrow glen, into which part of the village seems to recede, as if it sought shelter from the blasts that often sweep along the tract of the river. In the back ground are seen several high hills, each separated from its neighbour by its proper stream; particularly the lofty and rugged *Lee Pen* and *Pirn-hill*, covered with loose stones, or what, in the language of the district, are called *scolithers*. The latter, especially, is a fine object, as for a good way up it is clothed with wood.

The only writer I am acquainted with, who has conferred due honour on Traquair, is Dr Pennecuik. So enchanted is he with his subject, that he soon bids adieu to humble prose. He celebrates the beauties of Traquair in the following terms:

“Then follows the pleasant Place or rather *Palace* of Traquair, situate in a large and fertile plain, betwixt the river Tweed and water of Quair; and these two join and mingle waters a little below the noble house itself, of which take the following distichs.

On fair Tweed-side, from Berwick to the Bield,
Traquair for beauty fairly wins the field;
So many charms, by nature and by art,
Do there combine to captivate the heart,
And please the eye, with what is fine and rare,
So that few seats can match with sweet Traquair.” *

* Description of Tweeddale, p. 39. This nearly corresponds with the account given by Bleau. Ad quatuor millia passuum infra Pebliam sita est arx Traquariensis ad Traquariae Comitum pertinens, cujus situs nemorum umbris, et praeterlabentis fluvii amoenitate valde amabilis. Descript. Scotiae, p. 34.

The earliest mention I have met with of the name is in a charter of David I., dated at Ercheldon, [the modern Earlston,] to the monks of Melrose, granting to them certain privileges "in his forests of Seleschirche and *Trauequair*." * It has been said, that from the castle of Traquair several of the charters of William the Lion are dated. † But none of these have been given in the *Diplomata Scotiæ*. There is one, however, of Alexander II., dated at Traquair; and another of his successor, the third of the name. ‡

Nisbet has said, that the Frasers were great proprietors in Tweeddale, and sheriffs of Traquair, during the reign of Malcolm IV. || But he has produced no authority for this assertion. It would appear, that there were, in this district, two sheriffs during the reign of his successor, William the Lion, one at Traquair, and another at Peebles. The reason assigned for this is, "the co-existence of two royal castles in Tuededale, at Traquair, and at Peeblis; having each an appropriate jurisdiction." The first sheriff of the former, who seems to be taken notice of in our records, is Symon, the son of Macbeth, who was *vicecomes de Travequeyr*, in 1184. § The first mentioned, in the Chartularies, as sheriff of Peebles, is said to be John, designated *vicecomes de Pebblis*, A. 1227. ¶ The second person, who occurs as sheriff of Traquair, is Gilbert Fraser, who held a court for deciding a dispute about some lands in Stobo. The resignation of one of the parties was given *in curia vicecometatu de Travequer*. ** There is a precept of Alexander II., preserved in the same Chartulary, addressed to his sheriff and baillies of Traquair, commanding them to imprison all excommunicated persons within their jurisdiction; and requiring that his decree should be published throughout the bailiwick of Traquair. It is dated July 15th, 1242. The second sheriff of Peebles, who has been discovered in our memorials, was Simon Fraser, who possessed this

* Anderson's Diplom. No. 14.

† Caledonia, ii. 317.

‡ Ibid. No. 37.

|| Nisbet's Heraldry, ii. App. 107.

§ Chart. Newbotle, ap. Caledonia, ii. p. 920.

¶ Chart. Glasgow, p. 181. *ibid*.

** Ibid. p. 275.

office before the year 1263. He was the father of that Simon who was the faithful adherent of Robert Bruce, and who, being made prisoner in the unsuccessful battle of Methven, was, in the year 1306, sacrificed to the revenge of Edward I. Peter Langtoft gives the following account of the melancholy fate of this great man :

The *Freselle* ther he fled, sone after was he fonden, ^a
 Now taken he is and led vnto the toure of London,
 Ther his dome he feyng ^b als ^c traytoure sall ye witen,
 First drawen and sithen heyng, ^d and his hede of smyten.
 Allas ! it was to mene, ^e his vertuz and his pruesse, ^f
 So fele ^g in him were sene, that perist for falsnesse.
 His hede vnto the brigge to sette ^h was it sent,
 The body let thei ligge, ⁱ and som thereof thei brent. ^k

CHRONICLE, ii. p. 335.

After the death of Simon Fraser, the keeping of the forest of *Tre-quer* and Selechirche was given to William, the son of John Comyn, A. 1291. *

In our records is preserved the *Computum* of Symon Fraser as sheriff of *Treuequer*, in the year 1265. Thirty-six shillings and eight-pence are said to have been expended "in the reparation of all the houses and walls *apud Treuequer*." † William Perel is twice mentioned as sheriff of *Trequer* in the year 1288. ‡ This is undoubtedly the same person mentioned by Chalmers, under the name of William de *Peret*, as appointed by Edward to be sheriff of Traquair, June 18, 1292. || He refers to the *Rotuli Scotiae*, p. 8 ; but there he is called *Perel*. It appears that he had been in office before ; and had only a confirmation of his appointment from Edward.

^a Found.

^b Received ; strictly, took.

^c Als, as.

^d Hanged.

^e To be lamented.

^f Prowess.

^g Many, or much.

^h To be placed.

ⁱ Lie.

^k Burned.

* Rotul. Scot. i. p. 7.

† Chamb. Acc. i. p. 51.

‡ Ibid. i. p. 56, 72.

|| Caledonia, ii. 921, N. He is called *Perel* also in Rotul. Scot. i. 17.

It is evident that Edward had viewed these as crown lands. For, in the same year, 1292, letters were directed to Thomas of Haliwell, farmer of the mills of *Trakeweir*, as to money due to the king, as the arrears of what he was bound to pay for his farm.* The same industrious collector says, that before 1305 the sheriffwic of Traquair had become merged in the sheriffdom of Peeblis. Before this time Traquair had the *honour* of a visit from Edward himself. For, in an account of his *Progresses and Sojournings*, from A. 1301 to 1304, we find him at *Tresquoir*, (an error, as is noted in the place, for *Trefquair*, i. e. Traquair,) 20th August 1304, and at Selkirk on the following day. †

During the reign of Robert I., in the year 1328, John *de Trequèr* is mentioned as sheriff of Forfar. ‡ Whether designated from Traquair, or if so, for what reason, does not appear. In the *Computum* for the county of *Peblys*, for the year 1358, we read of what was due, “*de bondagiis Regis de Trequeyr et de Inverlethane*, of the king’s bondage-lands, which are in the hand of William Maitland, by what title,” it is added, “it is not known, upon which the king may be inquired at and consulted.” || Here also mention is made of three shillings of annual rent due from one *hostilage* of Traquair; and of thirteen shillings and fourpence of the rents of the milns of Traquair.” § By a charter, dated in the twelfth year of his reign, Robert II. grants to Adam Forster all *his hostilagia* of Traquare, with their annual rents, from him and his heirs, in fee and inheritances. ¶ *Hostilagium* might seem to be equivalent to *Hospitium*, a term elsewhere used in regard to the same place. Edward III., A. 1335, confirms a charter of William de Coucy to his son William, including, among other gifts, *Li-*

* Rotul. Scot. i. 13.

† Rotul. Scot. i. 54.

‡ Chamb. Acc. i. p. 12.

|| The term *bondagium* seems to denote the work which the serfs or tenants on the royal domain were bound to perform, either at limited times, or when summoned to give their service.

§ Chamberl. Acc. i. 317.

¶ Reg. Mag. Sig. p. 164, No. 17.

bera Hospitia sua, of Haldecambehouse, (Old Cambus,) Selkirk, and *Traquair*. From the use of the word *Libera*, it appears, that *free lodging* was furnished to travellers here.* But I apprehend that *hostilagium* denotes a place of entertainment, where payment was exacted, as equivalent to our old term *hostillarie* or *hostelry*. For these *hostilagia*, rent was accordingly to be paid to the king or any other proprietor.†

From these notices, it is evident that the lands of Traquair were royal property before they were held by a subject. The good old earl, lately deceased, once mentioned to me, that the house of Traquair had been a royal hunting-seat in the time of Alexander III., and that one of the towers in the building, still standing, was traced to this early æra. But, as far as I can recollect, his lordship did not seem aware that it had been a royal residence during different reigns. Amongst other antiques, that have been transmitted, he was so obliging as to shew me a very neat pen-case, made of ivory, which one of his ancestors had received, if I mistake not, from James III.

It seems to be scarcely possible to determine, from our records, with certainty, the various and changeful successions to the lands of Traquair, after they had been alienated from the crown by royal donation. "This castle," says Chalmers, speaking of the mansion-house, and the forest about it, "remained in the crown, probably, till the reign of Robert Bruce, who granted both to his zealous supporter, Sir James Douglas." But he makes very short work with it afterwards. "This forest," he subjoins, "came from the Douglasses to the Murrays. It returned to the crown by the forfeiture of William *de Moravia*, the outlaw Murray."‡

He refers to Robertson's Index, p. 10, 24, where we find this charter of Robert I.—"To James Lord Douglas, the forests of Selkirk,

* Rotul. Scot. i. 352.

† *Vide* Iter Camerar. s. 67; also Acts Ja. i. A. 1425. c. 56.—Murray.

‡ Caledonia, ii. 917, No. 922.

Ettrick, and *Traquair*, in a free barony." This grant is made in what has been called "The Douglas Emrauld Charter," because sasine was given to this noble chieftain in this, and a variety of other lands, specified in the deed, at Berwick, November 8th, 1325, by the formality of the king taking from his own finger, and putting on that of the Douglas, "a ring, with a certane stone called the *Emerald*," which was given to him and his heirs as a permanent memorial of this donation.*

The next proprietor, who appears on record, is simply designed "Edward Keith." I was at first disposed to think that this might be the great mareschal of Scotland, who succeeded A. 1324. But, although he might be a near relation, he appears to have been a different person. For as we find one charter, by David II., "to William Maitland, of the bondage-lands of Traquair, and sundry others, Innerletham, [Innerlethane,] Ormhuchstane, by resignation of Edward Keith;" † another, of the same reign, is directed "to Edward Keith, of some lands, given to him by Edward Keith *Marischal*." ‡ That the Maitlands were related to the Keiths, would seem from a charter, also of David Bruce, confirming one "by Robert Keith Marischall, to John *Maitlane*, his sister's son," respecting "the lands of Cowanstone." ||

The William Maitland, above referred to, was second son to Sir Robert Maitland of Thirlestane, ancestor of the noble family of Lauderdale. There seems to be no reason to doubt, that it was to one of his descendants that Robert III. granted a charter, ratifying the grants and infeftments which Thomas Mavtalent of Halsyngtone made to William Mavtalent, his son and heir, and Elisabet, daughter of William, dicti Watsons, of his lands of Schelynlaw, Troucqwair, and Inuerlethane, and the agreements made betwixt the said Thomas Mavtalent and William, called Watson, concerning the marriage to be

* Hume's Hist. Douglasses, p. 40. † Robertson's Ind. p. 37, 4. ‡ Ibid. p. 61, 33.

|| Ibid. p. 58, 4. Vide Wood's Peerage, ii. 187.

contracted betwixt the said William Mautalent and Elisabet, daughter of the said Watstone.* This Elizabeth Watson is called "William's spouse," in a "contract of infeftments granted by Thomas Mautalent" to his son and heir, "of the lands of Scheylynlaw, Traquair, and Inverlethane."†

There is a charter of the Duke of Albany, A. 1407, confirming a sale made, of the lands of Trakeware and Scherynlaw (*sic*) by Thomas Mautalent of Halsyntone, with consent of William Mautalent, his son and heir, to William Watstone of Cranystone, his heirs and assignees.‡ Afterwards, during the same regency, a charter is granted to William Watstone, son to William Watstone of Cranystoun, of the lands of Trekware and Schelynlaw, in the shire of Peblys, on the resignation of said William Watstone.||

This seems to have been followed up by another charter, A. 1409, to William Watstone, [the son,] and Ionete, daughter of John of Cauerhill, his spouse, in consequence of their resigning, in due form, into his hands the lands of Trekware, &c., in which he empowers the survivor to enjoy the property during life: in case of the failure of heirs of their own bodies, the lands are assigned to Alexander *de Moravia*, son and heir of the deceased John *de Moravia* of Blakbarony, (ancestor of Lord Elibank,) and the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten; on their failing, to Robert Watstone, brother of the above-named William Watstone,—then to Roger, his uncle's son, reserving, however, the liferent of the whole property to William Watstone's father during his life," &c. §

These various manœuvres, we may conjecture, were designed to secure the succession to Traquair, &c., according to the relationship or affections of this good lady, Ionete. It seems probable, that Alexander Murray was a relation of hers, or married to a near relation; as the

* Reg. Mag. Sig. p. 206, No. 31.

† Robertson's Ind. p. 157, 31.

‡ Reg. Mag. Sig. p. 233, No. 28. Robertson's Ind. p. 163, 28.

|| Robertson's Ind. p. 166, 9.

§ Ibid. p. 249, 9.

entail interposes him and his heirs between her husband and herself, and the kindred of her husband. But, whatever might be the reason of the property being thus devised, it eventually passed from the Maitlands to the Murrays. For the property was lost to the latter name by the forfeiture of William *de Moravia*. Sir Walter Scott has justly remarked, that Murray might have been forfeited "before 1464; for, in that year, a charter, proceeding upon his forfeiture, was granted by the crown, Willielmo Douglas de Cluny."* The charter, here referred to, is dated at Edinburgh, January 16th, 1463. It is addressed "to William Douglas de Cluny, and the heirs of his own body, lawfully begotten; whom failing, to the king and his successors." In this the regent gives "the lands of Sundirlandhall, in consequence of the forfeiture of William Cokburne; and the land of Cranstowne; and also the lands of Trakware, and of Lethanehope, which lands have fallen into the hands of the king, *ratione forisfature quondam Willielmi de Moravia*, to be held blanch of the king, as formerly held by William de Moravia."†

It seems quite uncertain in what line of descent, from the first proprietor of this name, who held the lands of Traquair, this William *de Moravia* was. Fifty-four years had elapsed, from the legal insertion of the name of Alexander in the charter by Watson of Cranstoun, before this forfeiture. There is a William Murray, great-grandson of John, mentioned in that deed, who was in possession of the whole of Blackbarony, A. 1463; the year in which the forfeiture took place.‡ But there is no evidence that he was forfeited. His son at least succeeded to the lands of Blackbarony.

The author of Caledonia has, in a passage above quoted, boldly pronounced this William *de Moravia* to be "the Outlaw Murray." This must surely have been meant as a *jeu d'esprit*. For, as he furnishes no proof of the identity of the persons, it appears that he could have

* Border Minstrelsy, i. 25. † Diplom. Reg. Publ. Arch. vol. iii. Lib. 6, p. 28.

‡ Douglas's Baronage, p. 69.

found none. Not only did Sir Walter Scott find it impossible to ascertain the reign referred to in the ballad which bears this name, or even to bring forward any thing more than traditional testimony in regard to the existence of such a person; but, as the poem applies much better to one of the family of Philiphaugh than of Blackbarony, the outlaw could not be the proprietor of Traquair, from whom he is expressly distinguished, as sending a message to him, demanding his support.

To Sir James Murray of Traquair,
 A message came right speedily.—
 “What news? What news?” James Murray said,
 “Man, frae thy master unto me?”
 ‘What needs I tell? for weell ye ken,
 The king’s his mortal enemy,’ &c. *

This property afterwards returned to the name of Douglas. For, it would appear, that, very soon after the forfeiture of Murray, it was given to William Douglas of Cluny; as the charter, which assures us of Murray’s forfeiture, contains the grant of his lands to this Douglas, 16th January 1463. In the Notes to the “Sang of the Outlaw Murray,” it has been said; “It would seem, that the grant in 1464 was not made effectual by Douglas; for another charter from the crown, dated the 3d February 1478, conveys the estate of Traquair to James Stewart, earl of Buchan.” Thus it has been supposed that “the first royal grant” was “not followed by possession.” † But that George Douglas was actually vested in this property, appears unquestionable. For, on the 1st of February the same year, there is a charter of confirmation, granted by him to George Tait de Pryn, [Pirn,] of *Smithi-land*, &c. in villa de Inverlethane, in dominio de Trakware. He designs himself Willielmus de Douglas, de Cluny et de Trakware. ‡ On the 12th of January 1363, the same person is made Warden of the

* Border Minstrelsy, i. 16.

† Ibid. p. 25.

‡ Diplom. Reg. Lib. 6, iii. 28.

East and Middle Marches, till the king should reach his fifteenth year. * On the same day, he is constituted warden of the lands of Douglasdale, with the wardship of the lordship of Tomtallon, and the keeping of the castles of Douglas and Tomtallon, † belonging to the king, in respect of the wardship existing, in consequence of the death of umquhile George, Earl of Angus; and to be held by the said William for the whole time of the said wardship."

But who this William Douglas of Cluny was, cannot easily be determined. He was most probably a relation of the family of Angus, perhaps with a bar in his scutcheon. Godscroft mentions him, in connexion with the minor Archibald, Earl of Angus, as if he had been little known. "It is not unlikely," he says, "that *one* William Douglas of Clunie hath had some hand in the guiding of his minority; for we find that the wardship of the lands of Tantallon, and earldom of Douglas, was given to him." ‡ It appears that he did not outlive the year 1478. For in a charter, dated this year, he is spoken of in the style commonly used as to one deceased; *Quondam* Willielmo Douglas. From this charter it appears, indeed, that Traquair belonged to two different names, after being possessed by William Douglas, before it became the property of the present family. It had been *alienated* by William Douglas, some time before his death, most probably at his majesty's desire, and for some valuable consideration, to make way for Robert Lord Boyd, who had the complete government of James III. This nobleman was forfeited, A. 1469, and died in England, whether he had fled, in the following year. || The lands of Traquair, &c. having thus again fallen, by forfeiture, in the king's hands, they were given to a person no otherwise described in the charter than as William Roger; and now," it follows, "on the resigna-

* Diplom. Reg. Lib. 6. iii. 28.

† Regi pertinentibus, ratione wardi existentis per decessum quondam Georgii Comitis Angusiae. Ibid. p. 34.

‡ Hist. House of Douglas, &c. p. 219.

|| Wood's Doug. Peer. i. 32.

tion of the said William, "they were given to James Earl of Buchan, to be held of the king as a free barony." This charter is dated at Edinburgh on February 3d, 1478.* The charter granted by him to his son, James Stewart, bears date May 18th, 1491.

There is a variation in the accounts given of the mode in which the noble family of Traquair became possessed of this property. They justly claim descent from James Stewart, son to James Earl of Buchan, uterine brother to King James II. For this earl married Queen Jane, the widow of James I. He was second son to Sir James Stewart, known by the designation of *the Black Knight of Lorn*. The account generally received is, that the earl, A. 1491, gave a charter of the lands of Traquair to his son James, and the legitimate heirs-male of his body.

Stewart, although he admits that the paternal ancestors of this family got from his father the barony of Traquair, as a patrimony, afterwards quotes the MS. above referred to, which represents matters in a very different light.† Here it is said, "the tradition received in the family is, that James, second son to the Earl of Buchan, acquired the lands of Traquair, by marrying ——— Watson, heiress of it. What seems to confirm this tradition is, the bearing of the family,"‡ &c. Should we even suppose that such a tradition existed in the family, it could be traced only to a misapplication of what has been already mentioned, the marriage of Thomas Maitland to Elizabeth Watson, more than eighty years before the possession of this property by the family of Traquair.

According to Crawford, the charter is granted to James Stewart, the founder of the family of Traquair, by his father, James Earl of Buchan, as *filio suo carnali*, or, as expressed in another, *filio suo natu-*

* Diplom. Reg. iii. Lib. 8, p. 129.

† This MS., which is in the Advocates' Library, is entitled, "Some Short Notes, to serve as Adminicles towards an Account of the Earl of Traquair's Family."

‡ Stewart's Account, p. 178.

rali. Hence it has been inferred that he was not the earl's lawful son. This allegation a writer, referred to by Duncan Stewart, in his Account of the Royal Family of Scotland, endeavours to set aside, by various proofs of the application of both these terms to a son by marriage. * In Douglas's Peerage, it is said, however, that he obtained a legitimation under the great seal, 20th February 1488-9. At the same time, Alexander, who succeeded to his father James, in the earldom of Buchan, is designated *brother-german* of James of Traquair. † This James was killed at the battle of Flodden.

Sir John Stewart, to whom Charles I. was much attached, having been knighted by James VI., was created Lord of Traquair, A. 1628, and Earl in 1633. He was afterwards made Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and appointed his Majesty's Commissioner to the General Assembly which sat at Glasgow, A. 1639.

Of this earl, as High Treasurer, there is a pretty good silver medal, rather broader than a shilling, exhibiting, on the obverse, the family arms in a shield, crowned, with this inscription, IOH . STVARTVS . COM . TRAQVARI . MAG . SCOT . THESAR^R. On the reverse, a triangle with a balance resting on a table; between the scales, a rouleau of money; with this legend, HAS . RECTO . METAS . POSVIT . DEVS . A small thistle, with the letter B follows these words.

"The water of Quair," it has been said, "which has its rise, and its whole course, in the parish, has given origin to the name:—and as the valley of a stream is called its strath in Scotland, it is easy from *Strathquair* to deduce Traquair." ‡ But, not to advert to the great change of pronunciation supposed, it may well be questioned if, in the nomenclature of our country, there be a single instance of so very small a dale being denominated a *strath*. There is, indeed, great variety in the orthography of this name. For, besides the different

* Stewart's Account, p. 179. † Wood's Douglas, ii. 597. ‡ Stat. Acc. xii. 369.

forms it assumes in the ancient deeds above referred to, it is also written, as if the pronunciation were completely guttural, *Traquhair*.^{*} In Pont's map it is twice engraved *Troquair*.

"The Quair," it has been asserted, "derived its Celtic name from its *curvatures*; *Qwyr*, in the British, and *Cuar*, in the Irish, signifying *crooked*, or bending."[†] But, like many other proofs of inaccuracy in this work, although the author refers to Davies and Owen, *Qwyr* does not occur in the dictionary of either of these writers. *Gwyr* is the only term, used by both, as signifying, *Recurvus*, *limus*, Davies; "Oblique, slant, slanting, bending," Owen. Besides, although no obliquity were requisite in order to make *Gwyr* assume the form of *Qwyr*; even this transformation would scarcely support the etymon. For as the Quair runs from its source only about four miles, till it joins Tweed, its course is far less distinguished by curvatures than that of many other streams, which no one has ever thought of denominating from this circumstance. It has, indeed, only one bending worthy of notice, when turning round a small hill near the retired, but sweet house of Glen, the property of William Allan, Esquire. British *Chwar*, pronounced as *hwar*, signifies active; as a substantive, "a quick rise;" also *chwyr*, "a strong impulse." The first syllable, in the name of the place, may well be traced to Brit. *tre*, which signifies "a homestead; a hamlet; a town; as *Trebaried*, *Tredegar*; mansions so called," Owen. *Trev* is evidently a cognate term, signifying "a dwelling-place; a homestead; a hamlet; a township; a town." Owen adds; "It forms the names of many places, as *Trev Ithel*, Ithel-Ham. As the name of a single house, it answers to the English *Ham*." Hence, "*Treva*, a place of resort, assembly, or dwelling;" Ibid. *Tréf*, urbs, oppidum; Davies. Pelletier renders Armoric *tréf*, *tréô*, and *tréw*, by Fr. *hameau*, a hamlet. There can be no doubt that the Irish term *treabh*, pronounced *treav*, is radically the same; explained "a farmed village," O'Reilly. The different forms in

^{*} Robertson's Ind. Cart. Dav. ii. p. 44, 11.

[†] Caledonia, ii. 898-9.

which this ancient word appears, correspond with the various orthography of the name in question; whether written *Tre-quer*, *Treve-queyr*, or *Treue-qwair*. Thus, whatever be the origin of the word *Quair* itself, *Traquair* unquestionably signifies, the dwelling, hamlet, or town, on *Quair*."

While attending to etymology, I may offer a few remarks as to the names of some places in the neighbourhood. The origin of *Pirn* is uncertain. British *bryn* is a hill; and *pergyn* signifies high. *Ormiston* might seem to be qu. "Orme's town." But the orthography is different in early deeds. It is not only *Ormystone*,* in a charter from David Bruce, but *Ormhuchstane*;† which might seem to mean, "the stone of the heugh of the serpent;" Goth. *orm*, A. S. *wurm*, and Scot. *worm*, being used in this sense. Almost every one is acquainted with the old ballad, "The Laidley Worm of Spindleston Heugh." *Cardrona*, or *Cardrono*, originally a British fort on the top of the ridge, is, perhaps, from Brit. *caer*, a fortress, Gaelic *cathair*, sounded *cahir*, a city, and *dronnag*, the ridge, the summit. This place, as well as *Cailyie*, formerly mentioned, had been well known to our royal poet, James I. For he introduces both in his *Peblis to the Play*.

Hop, Calye, ‡ and *Cardronow*,

Gaderit out thik fald.—

The bagpype blew, and thai out threw

Out of the townis untald.

From that strange fancy, which has infected a number of our older writers, of giving vulgar names a learned and antique form, in the

* Chamberl. Acc. i. 316.

† Robertson's Ind. p. 37, 4.

‡ *Hop* and *Calye* must have been meant by James to denote one place only. For as it is often called in old writings *Hopcalye*, *Hopkailye*, and in a charter from David II., *Hopkelloch*,* it is designed, A. 1358, *Esterhopkelyach*, † i. e. Easter.

* Reg. Mag. Sig. p. 26, No. 34.

† Chamberl. Acc. i. 316.

description of the county of Peebles, we read of "*Polippocastrum*, vulgo *Horsbrug Castell*;" * as apparently formed from Gr. *πολὺς* and *ἵππος*, as corresponding with the Scottish collective term *horss*, qu. "the castle of horses." But vulgar tradition has preserved a morsel of etymology, that may be more entertaining than any thing I can offer as to the origin of this designation. Whether it has been borrowed from the occasional orthography of old charters, or given ground for this, the reader must judge for himself. Certain it is, that the name frequently appears as *Horsbruk*, *Horsbrukis*, † and *Horsbruik*. ‡

"During the time that Peebles was a hunting residence to the kings of Scotland, the king and his nobles were engaged in the sport of hawking. The hawk flew across the Tweed after his prey. The river happened to be in flood; the king and the nobles could not follow. The ancestor of the family, of the name of either Hunter or Hamilton, was at the time ploughing on the lands, which afterwards, by royal grant, became his own. Acquainted with the river,—he loosed his plough, and with one of his horses came across the stream, and restored the hawk and his prey to the royal hunter; for which meritorious service the king endowed him with all the lands within view of his plough north of Tweed. As he was crossing the river, either the king, or one of his attendants, cried out, *Horse bruik weel*, and thence the lands, and their owner, were called *Horsebruik*; which, in the course of time, has been changed into *Horsburgh*."—The narrator very properly adds, *Valeat quod valere possit*. ||

By no other circumstance has this scenery acquired greater celebrity, than from its being the subject of the pretty song, written by Crawford of Auchinames, the contemporary and friend of Allan Ramsay. I need scarcely add, that I refer to *The Bush aboon Traquair*. This is supposed to have supplied the place of an ancient

* Bleau's Atl. p. 34.

† Robertson's Ind. (Dav. II.) 75, 85.—67, 62.

‡ Inquis. Retorn. ii. Peebles, No. 6.

|| Stat. Acc. xix. 60, 606.

song with the same name, which is now entirely lost. In the south of Scotland, the term *bush*, or *buss*, is not confined to one thick shrub; but is used also to denote a thicket or clump. This is the signification of the word here. Burns, we are informed, "visited the Bush in the year 1787, when he made a pilgrimage to various places celebrated in story and in song; and found it composed of eight or nine ragged *birches*. It has lately paid a heavy tax to human curiosity, and has supplied nobles, and princes, with specimens, in the shape of snuff-boxes and other toys. The Earl of Traquair, in anticipation, perhaps, of this rage for reliques, planted what he called 'The New Bush;' but it remains unconsecrated in song, and can never inherit the fame, or share in the honours of the old." * The old *Bush* stands on a declivity overlooking the Quair, nearly a mile above the mansion-house; its successor stands higher on the hill, and nearer to Tweed.

"The Bush *aboon* Traquair," says another writer, "which in former times might be a considerable thicket of *birch-trees*, the indigenes of the soil, is now reduced to five lonely trees, which solitarily point out the spot, where love and its attendant poetry once probably had their origin." † This tallies, indeed, with the language of the song :

At the bonny bush aboon Traquair,
'Twas there I *first* did love her.

The very same bush, or rather grove, must have been considered as a remarkable object, not less than two centuries ago. For it is laid down in Pont's maps under the designation of *Troquair Bircks*. The trees are delineated, indeed, as extending nearly the whole way down to the mansion-house. The name, however, may have been appropriated to a particular clump; beside which, as would appear from the figure in the map, there had formerly been a dwelling-house.

The want of a bridge across Tweed, in this district, has long been

* Cunningham's Songs of Scotland, iii. 79.

† Stat. Acc. xii. 378

regretted,* as, if this were erected, and the road from Edinburgh carried down Leithen, it would not only save to this part of the country a great expense in driving lime and coals, but greatly shorten the road to Carlisle. From the spirited conduct of the landed proprietors in the vicinity, the new road has not only been formed, and in part finished, for several miles, but some progress has been made in the erection of a wooden-bridge.

To this quarter of the country there was comparatively little resort, till within these few years, when the mineral well at Inverleithen has acquired considerable celebrity. It possesses, although in a smaller degree, the same qualities with Harrowgate-water; being partly saline, and partly sulphureous. It has been found useful especially in bilious complaints. The late earl has rendered the well much more commodious for visitors. Formerly there was no cover; but a pretty extensive building has been lately erected, containing a handsome piazza, where the water is supplied. This also serves as a pleasant promenade, or a resting-place, according to the humour of the occupants. Behind this there is a parlour for ladies, and another for gentlemen, who subscribe for the use of them. The ground behind is laid out for a garden. As the spot, where this building has been erected, is much above the level of the plain, many regret that the water was not brought farther down the hill in pipes. It is not unlikely that this higher site might in part be preferred, because the elevation unquestionably makes this a finer object, as viewed from Traquair House.

As the situation is delightful, and only twenty-seven miles distant from our metropolis, many, who are not invalids, take the benefit of relaxation from business for a day or two, by an excursion to this place. They often stretch a few miles across the country to the southward, to view St Mary's Loch, and that of the Lows, whence flows the classic Yarrow; where the scenery is so romantic and retired amidst surrounding hills, that a stranger might suppose that he had

* Stat. Acc. xii. 379, 380; xix. 604, 605.

reached the very centre of the Highlands, while only a little way from the border.

It has been thought, that were the noble family of Traquair sufficiently alive to their own interest, they would give perpetual feus of their land at Inverleithen, on considerably lower terms; as this would not only secure better accommodation for visitors, but be an inducement to others to select this as a permanent summer residence, which would of necessity raise the general value of their surrounding property.

About four miles to the southward of Traquair are seen the ruins of *Blackhouse*, understood to be one of the most ancient seats of the illustrious family of Douglas. This old tower is situated on *Douglasburn* in Selkirkshire. It now gives name to a sheep-farm, of about four thousand acres in size, belonging to the Earl of Traquair. It is said to be mentioned as early as the reign of Malcolm Canmore. The tower might be built by William, the first Earl of Douglas, when he succeeded to the forest. For Robert Bruce had granted to his favourite warrior, Sir James Douglas, the forests of Selkirk and Traquair. On the north-east bank of the same mountain-stream stand the remains of another old castle, belonging to the same family, called *Craig-Douglas*. From the tower of *Blackhouse*, according to tradition, Lady Margaret Douglas was carried off by her lover; between whom and her seven brothers a most bloody scene took place, as they all perished in attempting to bring her back to her father's house. Her lover was also slain. Seven large stones, on the heights of *Blackhouse*, are pointed out as marking the different spots where the brothers fell. Lady Margaret and her lover are said to have been buried in St Mary's Chapel, which stood in the neighbourhood. Their fate is commemorated in a traditionary ballad. In a MS. in the possession of Lord Traquair, dated A. 1711, from which the circumstances above-mentioned are extracted, this is called "*Lord William and Fair Margaret*." But like most of our popular ballads it has borne

different names. It is published, in the *Minstrelsy of the Border*, vol. iii. 243, &c., under that of "The Douglas Tragedy."

This place is merely mentioned by Chalmers as "Blackhouse tower, on Douglas burn." * Godscroft says, that "the eldest sonne" of William, "first created Lord of Douglas at the parliament of Forfaire," held by Malcolm Canmore, "was Sir John of Douglasburn, which is a parcell of ground and mannour lying betwixt Ettrick forrest and Peebles." According to this writer, "he and his brother William were both knights at the same parliament," in which their father was nobilitated. †

It may be added, as a further memorial of the connection of this district with the crown, that the name of the *King's Road* is still given to a road which runs from Blackhouse to Henderland, on Megget water, where it is said there was another royal hunting-seat. This place was held, in a later age, by that famous freebooter Cockburn; and here his tomb-stone is still pointed out. On the banks of this beautiful stream, it is, indeed, said, "there are the remains of two old towers, which appear to have been built, partly for accommodating the kings of Scotland, when on their hunting parties in the forest;" as well as "the traces of three or four roads in different directions across the hills," supposed to have been, "perhaps, cut out for the king and his suite when they went a-hunting." ‡

Had not this article extended so far, PEEBLES might well have claimed our attention. This was frequently the residence of our kings, especially on their hunting expeditions. The *Ministry*, or *Cross Church* here, now in ruins, containing seventy Red or Trinity Friars, was founded by Alexander III. A. 1257. Robert II. grants to Friar Thomas, designed *his chaplain*, pratum regium juxta villam de Peebles, undoubtedly what is still denominated *King's Meadows*,

* Caledonia, i. 974, N.

† History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, p. 11.

‡ Stat. Acc. xii. 564.

formerly mentioned. * Contiguous to the *Cross Church* is a piece of ground, formerly surrounded with walls, and still called the *King's Orchard*; and on the opposite side of the river is the *King's Green*. † Our kings often resided in the religious houses. But Chalmers, as we have already seen, asserts the co-existence of *two* royal castles, in Tuededale, at Traquair, and at *Peebles*. ‡ That this was a place of great resort in ancient times, especially for scenes of gaiety, in which the royal visitors took an interest, is undeniable from that celebrated poem, justly, as would appear, ascribed to James I., *Peblis to the Play*.

It has been supposed, with great probability, that as British *Pebyll*, synonymous with Saxon *Shiels*, denotes "moveable habitations," the name was used to mark the place where tents, or such habitations, were erected. || Davies gives *Pebyll* as signifying *castra*; deriving it, however, from *Pabell* tentorium.

* Keith's Bishops, p. 243.

† See above, p. 37.

‡ Tytler's Remains of James I., p. 33.

|| Caledonia, ii. 891.

King's Inch.

THE vestiges of ancient greatness, connected with the burgh of Renfrew, may seem scarcely worthy of being mentioned. The gentle eminence, however, denominated the *Castle-hill*, is pointed out as the site of what has been honoured with the title of "the *Palace of King's Inch*." This lies on the brink of Clyde: and as this river has often divided its waters here into two branches, the rising ground between them was, as in many other instances, called the *Inch*, (Gaelic *Innis*,) or Island. In Bleau's Atlas this is designed *King's Inch*. For greater security, this hill was surrounded by a large and deep foss.

That several of our kings have occasionally resided here, there can be no doubt. As, during the reign of Robert II., our first king of the family of Stewart, the barony of *Raynfrew* is mentioned in one *Compotum*, in another we have an account of the expense paid for carrying two tuns of wine from Blackness to *Renfrew*, for the use of the king.* It is evident, indeed, that this barony had been long in possession of the Stewarts. For, so early as the reign of Malcolm Canmore, Walter, of this name, for his fidelity to his sovereign, got from him the

* Chamberl. Acc. ii. 23. 66.

baronies of Strathgrief, Renfrew, and Kyle.* His descendant, Robert, Great Steward, when restoring the authority of David Bruce, during the usurpation of Edward Baliol, was supported by his own baronial vassals of Renfrew, who "humbly presented themselves to him as to their proper lord."† In this very place, indeed, Baliol had made a display of his usurped power, and entertained his adherents with royal splendour; or, as it is expressed by Wyntoun;

At Renfrewe a mawngery ^a
 Costlyk ^b he made ryaly. ^c
 Fewteys ^d he tuk of mony thare,
 That gaddryd to the Semlè ^e ware,
 And awcht ^f fewtè for thar tenawndry;
 For nane durst hym contrary. ^g

CRONYKIL, B. viii. c. 28, v. 75.

In the year 1316, on Shrove-Tuesday, as the lady Marjory, the daughter of Robert, was returning from Paisley to the castle of Renfrew, which was the principal residence of the Lord High Steward her husband, she was thrown from her horse, and died in consequence of the fall. The Cesarian operation was performed, but unskilfully; whence her son, afterwards Robert II., having received a scar in his eye, was commonly called *King Blear-eye*. "The cross," says Abercromby, "which was erected on the place, where this unlucky accident happened, is to this day (but more unreasonably) called *Queen Blear-eye's Cross*."‡ They still show her tomb in the old Abbey of Paisley.

* Stewart's Account of the Surname of Stewart, p. 45. This is otherwise expressed by Crawford: "He obtained from that prince a grant of the lands of Kyle and Strathgrief, the ancient denomination of the barony of Renfrew." Descript. Shire of Renfrew, p. 132.

† Scotichron. Lib. xiii. c. 33.

^a Feast. ^b Costly. ^c Royally. ^d Fealty. ^e Meeting. ^f Owed. ^g Oppose.

‡ Martial Atchievements, ii. 149.

So early as the reign of David I., the king, when endowing his Abbey of Holyroodhouse, gives, to the monks, according to the English version, "a house in Renfrew, and one draught of a net for salmon, with a right to fish for herrings." But in the original, as given by Maitland, no mention is made of a house, but merely of—*unum tractum in Remfry*.^{*} By this prince, the town of Renfrew was expressly granted to Walter, the son of Alan, High Steward. †

It is a proof, among many, of the uncertainty of human greatness, that the site of the residence of our former kings has been latterly occupied as a soap-work. When this was erected, nothing remained of the royal castle, save the foundations of the walls: and it appears, from obvious marks, that the stones employed for this work were partly obtained from the ancient building. At the bottom of the Castle-hill, to the westward, is a place still called the *Orchard*; and a little farther, in the same direction, some low ground is yet known under the denomination of the *King's Meadows*.

In a letter of protection, granted, A. 1311, by Edward II. of England, "to those who were about to travel to Scotland, or who resided there, under the obedience of the king," one of the places mentioned is *Reynfreu*. ‡ Different charters are dated here; two of Robert II., in the first year of his reign; || another, in the seventh. §

It cannot easily be accounted for, that a place, to which the family of Stewart were evidently very partial, should have been alienated from the crown; especially as His Majesty still retains the hereditary title of *Baron of Renfrew*. The earliest proof I have met with of this alienation is in the year 1615, when "the lands of Inche, with the fishing on the water of Clyde, and office of constabulary of Renfrew," are given to James Lord Ross de Halkhed et Melvile, as heir of James Lord Ross, &c., his *grandfather*, ¶ who died A. 1581. This manor afterwards came into the hands of the Earl of Abercorn, as in part constituting his lordship of Paisley. At a later period it be-

* Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 145, 146.

† Rotul. Scot. i. 103.

§ Ibid. p. 149, No. 107.

† Fraser Tytler's Hist. Scot. ii. 300.

|| Reg. Mag. Sigill. p. 81, No. 96.

¶ Retours, ii. Renfrew, N. 36.

came the property of the noble family of Dundonald. Crawford says he had "seen a tack of the castle of Renfrew, with the orchards and meadows, to Robert Lord Lyll, and to his heirs-male, for the payment of £4. 6s. 8d., dated A. 1468." "The barons Ross of Hawkhead," it is subjoined, "have been heritable constables of this castle for a long time; by virtue whereof the Lord Ross hath power to uplift customs at the principal fairs of this burgh. It was erected into a royalty by King Robert III., when the barony of Renfrew was disjoined from the sherifffdom of Lanark, and erected into a distinct shire by that king, in the fourteenth year of his reign."*

By the account given in the Peerage, the *tack*, above referred to, is described as a charter from James II., under the great seal, for the payment of a tack-duty of five pounds yearly to the king's exchequer. Here the date is given as of the year 1458.† As the family of Lyle, ennobled by James II., were not only possessed of lands in the neighbourhood, but seem to have been connected with the Stewarts of Bute, as early co-proprietors in that island; the sovereign might hence be induced to make them lessees of the property at Renfrew, after the palace had ceased to be occupied by the royal family.

Camden has said, that "*Reinfraw* takes its name from the—*Randuara* of Ptolemy."‡ That the Damnii had a town in this vicinity, during the power of imperial Rome, is generally admitted. || Whether the imagined resemblance of the name *Renfrew* to *Randuara*, has suggested this idea to worthy Camden, is uncertain. But the name should be *Vanduara*, as it is given by the old geographer.§ Chalmers places *Vanduaria*, as he gives the word, "very near the site of Paisley." The name, we are told, by which this place is known, in Gaelic, is *Rein-froach*, that is, "the heath division;"¶—no very distinctive designation in Scotland even in our own day. Baxter explains it as a Welsh term; *Ren*, or *Fren*, and *frau*, signifying "the gentle

* Hist. Renfrew, p. 13, 14. Edit. 1782. † Crawford's Peerage, Lib. i. c. 3, p. 287.

‡ Britannia, iv. 79.

|| Caledonia, iii. 769.

§ Ουανδούαρα, Ptolem. Geogr.

¶ Stat. Acc. ii. 166.

flow of water," which might be appropriate enough to that of the river *Cart*, on which Renfrew is situated.

Near this place, in the year 1164, during the reign of Malcolm IV., a battle was fought between Somerled, thane of Argyle, who had rebelled against the king, and Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, in which Somerled was defeated, and both he and his son, Gilcolane, were slain. In the Chronicle of Mailros, the town is called *Renfrin*. *

* Gale Scriptor. i. 169.





Drawn by W. Brown

Engraved by W. Forrest.

FOURTH.

Forfar.

THERE is no reason to doubt, that Forfar, the head town of the county of Angus, or Forfarshire, as it is commonly called, is a place of great antiquity. Unluckily, indeed, its ancient charters were carried off by the usurper Cromwell; as a punishment for the stedfast adherence of its magistrates and inhabitants to the cause of loyalty. But our history affords various vestiges of its having been early distinguished as a royal residence.

Boece carries its honours as far back as to the age of Agricola. It is generally admitted, that the *Horestia*, occupied by the Roman general, according to the account given by Tacitus, was the district since called Angus. But Boece, perhaps from his partiality to his native county, (as he informs us that he was born at Dundee,*) found no difficulty in particularizing some of the towns and fortified places, even then in existence. For he informs us, that Galdus, (the same who is by Tacitus called Galgacus, who made so noble a struggle against the Roman invaders,) with Garnard, king of the Picts, and Gildo, a Norwegian leader, who had come, with a powerful army, to their aid, first met at Dundee. "Within ane schort tyme efter," to use the language of his venerable translator, "the confederate kyngis

* Scot. Regni Descr. Fol. 10, a.

with capitane Gyldo went to Forfair, in quhilk sumtyme was ane strang castel within ane loch, quhare sindry kingis of Scottis maid residence efter the proscription of the Pichtis, thocht it is now bot ane popil * town. Efter thair cumyng to Forfair, thay tuk lang consultation be quhat ingyne the Romanis might be resistit."† Boece's language is more forcible. For he calls it "a castle strongly fortified, as its ruins shew,—fenced almost on every side by an extensive lake."

It is unquestionable that this was early a royal residence, and that it never belonged to any private person. It would appear that it was one of the principal mansions of Malcolm Canmore. It was situated on an eminence on the north side of the present town; but there are no remains of it. The site still bears the name of the Castle-hill, and is now occupied as garden-ground.

It has been said that some of the foundations may yet be traced. The castle stood on the top of what has been viewed as an artificial mound, of a circular form, resting on a base of about three acres of ground, and rising fifty feet above the plain. The loch, which covered the castle on the north side, extended (before it was partially drained) about two miles from east to west, and half a mile in breadth. In digging here, various remains of antiquity have occasionally been found; lately, among others, a penny of William the Lion. I have in my possession a small pig of uncommonly fine lead, discovered among the ruins, which must have been dropped by some of the workmen employed here, not later, it would seem, than the time of Edward I.'s usurpation.

It has been conjectured that the name may have been formed of two Gaelic words; *fuair*, cold, chilly, and *bar*, in its constructed state, *bhar*, or *var*, a point, qu. "the cold point." In common language the name is invariably pronounced *Farfar*. In Welsh, *fair* signifies an eminence.

In the account given by Boece of the coronation of Malcolm at

* Small, mean, or plebeian.

† Bellenden's Croniklis, B. iv. c. 14.

Scone, he is supported by the testimony of two more credible writers, Wyntoun,* and Fordun.† But Boece, immediately after this event, transfers Malcolm to Forfar. Bellenden has thus rendered his language: "Eftir his coronation he maid ane generall conuention of his noblis at *Forfair*; in the quhilk he rewardit al tham (that assistit to him aganis Makbeth) with landis and offices." He further informs us, that, "in this samyn counsal, king Malcolm maid mony ciuil and religious lawis to the honour of God and proffet of his realm."‡ It must be acknowledged, however, that, minute as Boece is, in his account of the various transactions at this convention, his testimony is not confirmed, as far as I can find, by that of any earlier writer.

But, although this place is not mentioned, either by Theodoric, or, as others says, Turgot, the confessor of Queen Margaret, who wrote her life, or by Ailred, abbot of Rievall, there seems to be no good reason for concluding that Malcolm and his excellent queen did not occasionally occupy the castle of Forfar as their residence. Besides the great want of proper historical records, regarding this period of our history, it is an undeniable fact, that ecclesiastical writers dwell so much on those acts of devotion which characterised the religion of their own times, and are so diffuse and declamatory in their narratives, that historical facts are rarely to be gleaned from them, and, even when this is the case, occur as mentioned merely in an incidental way. Vague tradition is of itself worthy of very little regard. But when it has the unanimous voice of a country, supported by a variety of local attestations, it is sometimes entitled to as much attention as written history. Such, indeed, is the universal tradition, in this district, in regard to the occupation of the castle of Forfar by the royal family during this reign.

One place in the vicinity, nearly a mile west from the burgh, deserves particular observation. This, from time immemorial, has been named *Queen Margaret's Inch*. Here are still to be seen the found-

* Cronykil, B. vii. c. 1. † Scotichron. Lib. v. c. 9. ‡ Cronykil, B. xii. c. 9.

ations of a pretty extensive building. It is an *island*, as the name intimates; wholly or chiefly artificial. Great piles of oak have been driven into the *Loch*, which, in this place, and in the neighbourhood, is very deep. These have been covered by vast quantities of stones, indiscriminately heaped on each other, with a considerable *stratum* of earth above all. The stakes still appear in many parts of the island, not only on its verge, as if they had been meant merely to serve the purpose of a fence, but near the centre, where the earth has been washed away. Its length is nearly about 450 feet, and its breadth 150. The formation of it must have required very great labour and expense. The ditch, which has been dug between this and the main land, is still quite distinct, or was so thirty years ago. Over this, it is generally believed, there has been a drawbridge. Half a century ago, a considerable part of the building was standing; and also an oven, which was almost quite entire.

This island, or more strictly isthmus, is now mostly overgrown with shrubbery; and as the greatest part of it is of the flowering kind, it not only presents the enchanting prospect of a garden as it were rising out of the lake, with all the beautiful luxuriance of nature, but, when in blossom, perfumes the air with its delightful fragrance. This *Inch* is situated at an equal distance from both extremities of the lake. It would seem that Boece, who naturally felt a peculiar interest in this county, had this *Inch* in his eye, in his Description of the Kingdom of Scotland. For, although he mentions only one castle, when relating the pretended meeting here in the time of Agricola, he, in his general account, extends his view to its posterior honours. "It ought not," he says, "to be passed over in silence, that Forfar was anciently a populous city, adorned with *two* royal castles, as the ruins demonstrate."*

The generally received opinion, in regard to the structure on this beautiful spot, is, that it was erected by Malcolm, at the request of

* Descript. Fol. 10, a.

his beloved queen, as a place of retirement for her; where, at a distance from the bustle and gaiety of the court, she might devote herself to religion. It is no inconsiderable presumption in favour of the truth of this traditionary account, that, although my worthy old friends of the burgh of Forfar have never been accused of going to an extreme in religion, there is a hereditary attachment to the memory of this excellent queen. She seems still to live in the affections of all its inhabitants. As she was *canonized* after her death, and advanced to the dignity of being the *Patroness* of Scotland, the day of her translation, June 19th, has been, at least occasionally, commemorated by a procession of the young females of Forfar to her *Inch*.*

It might well be viewed as a strong confirmation of the partiality of Queen Margaret for this religious retirement, could we give full credit to the circumstance mentioned by Hollinshed, "that Alexander II., bycause the olde Queene, his mother, [Ermengard] determined to remayne during the residue of hir life in the place where that holye woman, Queene Margaret, sometyme led hir lyfe, he gaue vnto hir, towards the maintenaunce of hir estate, the *castelles* and townes of Forfare, with the landes and possessions to the same belonging."† But this is merely a translation from Boece;‡ and is not supported by the evidence of Wyntoun, or the continuator of Fordun. According to the testimony of both these writers, indeed, as well as that of the Chronicle of Mailros, she died in the Abbey of Balmerinoch, in Fife, which she had herself founded.||

Aloysius Lesly, who published the Life of Saint Margaret, in the Italian language, at Rome, 1675, says, that the custom of giving thanks standing is commonly ascribed to her; which, he adds, is called *Haustus Gratiarum*, vel *S. Margaretae*.§ The inhabitants of Forfar traditionally claim the credit of this institution, as having ori-

* *Vide* Stat. Acc. vi. 519, N.

† Hollinshed, Hist. p. 281.

‡ Castella ac oppidula Forfair, &c. Chron. Fol. 289, b.

|| Wyntoun, B. vii. c. 9. v. 355, &c. Scotichron. Lib. ix. c. 47. Gale, i. p. 201.

§ Papebrochii Not. ad Vit. Margaretae, Vit. Antiq. Sanct. Pinkerton, p. 342.

ginated during her residence in their burgh. It is thus expressed ; “ Tradition celebrates her attention to the good instruction of the young women in Forfar ; and it is said, it was the law at her table, that *none should drink after dinner* who did not wait the giving of thanks ; and hence the phrase through Scotland of the *Grace Drink*.”* The language of Lesly, however, seems limited to the circumstance of *standing* in the act of giving thanks.

Forfar was a place of considerable importance in the time of Alexander III. During his minority, in the year 1257 or 1258, “ the nobility and principal knights, who composed the English faction, having engaged to submit to the king and the laws, agreed to hold a conference at Forfar, and there to settle all differences.”† This purpose, it appears, was never accomplished ; for they immediately afterwards fled to England. This king held his court here during part, at least, of the years 1263 and 1264. In that valuable relic of antiquity, the Chamberlains’ Accounts, we have the *Compota* of two persons of the name of Mouat, or *de Monte alto*, who were sheriffs of the county of Forfar. The inventory is very amusing. For one year, the return for the castle of Forfar is twenty-four cows ; for that of Glammes, which is conjoined with it, thirteen and a half, besides an arrear of twenty-one, in all forty-eight cows and a half. Of these, forty-eight had been *expended* in his majesty’s service ; and the sheriff acknowledges himself debtor to the king for ten cows and a half. Of seventy-five hogs, supplied for Forfar and Glammes, twenty-five had been used by the royal family. Then follows an account of the contributions of cheese, of fowls, of malt. In regard to the latter, his majesty’s account is stated distinctly from that of his royal partner. “ Expended in the king’s service, seventeen chalders one boll and a half of malt ; in that of the queen, four chalders and twelve bolls. Of barley-meal, three chalders, two bolls, and one firloft, for the king ; nine bolls and a half, for the queen.” But besides this, “ four chalders

* Stat. Acc. vi. 319, N.

† Vide Fraser Tytler’s Hist. of Scotl. i. 18, 19.

and ten bolls were laid out in keeping seven whelps and their dam." For "maintaining William of Hamyll at Forfar, with the king's hawks, for twenty-nine weeks and two days in the year 1263," it cost no less than "eight chalders and a half, with three parts of a boll;" and "for his horses, also remaining here," as would appear for the same time, "fourteen chalders and six bolls." The gardener at Forfar had five merks for the year. William de Hamyll, with his hawks, cost in money, for the time formerly specified, £8, 12s. 6d.; the grooms, who had charge of the king's horses, with forage bought, £4, 7s. There was paid for the carriage of sixteen pipes of wine, from "Dundee all the way to the castle of Forfar, £4, 8s." We also find that thirty sheep were taken, xxx multones captos, from Barry (on the side of the sea) for the service of the king at Forfar during Easter, at the price of twenty-five shillings; and forty from the grange of Strathylif, (Glenisla?) reckoned at thirty-three shillings and fourpence.

From another *Comptum*, for 1264, we learn that six score and sixteen hens, *et una pultria*, were expended in the service of the king and queen: and that forty cows were given to his majesty's sister, by order of the Earl of Buchan, Justiciary of Scotland.*

Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, who commanded the important castles of Dundee and Forfar, when the other governors gave up the fortresses of the country into the hands of the usurper Edward I., declared, that as he had received them not from England, but from the states of Scotland, he would not surrender them to Edward. A formal letter of indemnity was therefore drawn up, which guaranteed the Earl of Angus from all blame; and, in name of the claimants of the crown, and of the guardians of the realm, enjoined him to deliver the castles, of which he held the keys. This removed the objection of Umfraville; and Dundee and Forfar were placed in the hands of Edward.† This refers to the year 1292.

* Excerpt. Rot. Compot. i. 11-13, 41.

† Fraser Tytler's Hist. i. 85. Vide Rotul. Scot. i. 9, a. 12, a.

It has been supposed that the castle of Forfar was taken in the year 1308.* But this is rather at variance with an account, the accuracy of which cannot be doubted; as, from the *Rotuli*, it appears that Forfar remained in possession of the English on December 13th of this year. A precept, of this date, is directed from Edward to John of Weston, "constable of *our* castle of Forfare," to supply it with all necessary provisions and fortifications.† It has been said that it was taken by Wallace. But of this I find no proof. What was afterwards done by Robert Bruce seems, by tradition, to have been ascribed to his gallant precursor, Wallace. This event must, indeed, have taken place not long after the king's return from chastising the Earl of Buchan. He came into Angus, resolved to liberate all the north of Scotland, to the Frith of Forth, from the English yoke.

According to Archdeacon Barbour, the castle was taken by Philip, the *Forester* of Platane; who, if not by the king's express orders, according to his established plan of preventing the invaders from re-occupying the places of strength which had been taken from them, completely destroyed it.

The castell off Forfayr wes then
 Stuffyt all with Inglis men.
 Bot Philip the Foraster off Platane
 Has off his freyndis with him tane,
 And with leddrys^a all priuely
 Till the castell he gan him fly,
 And wp our^b the wall off stane;
 And swagate^c has the castell tane,
 Throw faute^d off wach, with litill payne.
 And syne all that he fand has slayne:
 Syne yauld the castell to the king,
 That maid him rycht gud rewarding.

* Kerr's History of Robert I. vol. i. 341.

† Rotul. Scot. i. 61, a.

^a Ladders.

^b Over.

^c In this manner.

^d Want, defect.

And syne [he] gert brek doun the wall,

And fordyd well,^a and castell all.

———— The castell off Forfar

And all the towris tumblyt war

Doun till the erd.

THE BRUCE, B. vi. v. 831.*

The general tradition is, that this castle was never rebuilt; and there is no historical evidence to the contrary. Its ancient honours, however, cannot well be forgotten: for a figure of it, with projecting turrets, constitutes the armorial bearings of the borough. Both the town, and its vicinity, retain various memorials of its having formerly been the seat of royalty. Some of these refer back to the reign of Canmore; others may, perhaps, have no higher claim than the reigns of the Alexanders. Within the royalty are the King's Muir, the Queen's Well, the Queen's Manor, the Palace Dykes, and the Court Road. In the vicinity we find the King's Burn, the King's Seat, and the Wolf Law, where the nobles were wont to meet for hunting the wolf.† A farm, about half a mile distant from Forfar, is called *Turf-big*, because, as tradition assures us, the peats or *turfs* used in the palace were *biggit* or stacked there. However ludicrous this etymon may appear, it has unquestionable confirmation. For, when a new possessor serves himself heir to this part of the estate, he is obliged to promise that he will furnish peats and turfs for the use of the king's kitchen when he resides in Forfar. Although there is no proof that any of the Stuarts resided here, yet, in the year 1391, during the reign of Robert III., the sheriff of Forfar is charged with "the three hundred carts of peats, which are *hereditarily* supplied within the bailiwick, for sufficient fewel for his majesty's service when he comes to Forfar."‡ This exactly corresponds with a previous deed of Robert

^a Ruined or destroyed the well.

* Edit. 1820. *Vide* Note, pp. 445, 446.

† Stat. Acc. vi. 512. Transact. Antiq. Soc. ii. Part i. 22, 23.

‡ Chamberl. Acc. ii. 81.

II., A. 1372, in which we have these words ;—“ Whereas John, the son of William, and Christian his spouse, with their heirs, are bound annually to furnish the kings of Scotland, at their manor of Forfar, with three hundred cart loads of peats for the lands of Balmoschenore and *Tyrebeg*; because we in these times do not reside there so often as our predecessors did reside at Forfar, we grant, of our special grace, that the said John, &c. for the said three hundred cartfuls of peats, shall only be bound, as often as we shall happen to come to Forfar, to furnish fuel sufficient for us and our heirs during our stay there.”* This deed is dated at *Glaumys*, a few miles distant from Forfar, where the king had resided, perhaps in a royal progress, because of the abundant accommodation to be found in the splendid castle there. We find that twenty pounds and a chalder of meal were paid to the heirs of William of Forfar, as “ the annual due for the farm of the royal manor.”†

Another place, near this, retains the name of *Heather-stacks*, where, it is said, the *heath* required for the royal kitchen was cut down and piled up. A charter is granted by Robert II., A. 1371, to William Bydoun, “ of the moiety of the land of *Ferrygtounfeld*, to wit, thirteen acres adjacent to the burgh of Forfare, to be held for services due to the *manor* of Forfare.” This, in another charter of the same year, is called *Feryngtounfeld*.‡ It occurs to me, that this is most probably the piece of ground, lying on the south side of the burgh, in common language called *Feridan-field*; being the place, according to invariable tradition, where *Feredith*, king of the Picts, was slain by Alpin, the father of Kenneth II. ||

Although we do not see how David Bruce could have resided here, the castle being totally destroyed, he seems to have had a partiality for this vicinity. For we find him occasionally at the Priory of Res-

* Robertson's Index, p. 135, No. 12.

† Chamberl. Acc. ii. 183.

‡ Robertson's Index, p. 96, No. 313.—P. 131, No. 20.

|| *Vide* Transact. Antiq. Soc. ii. Part i. p. 23.

tennet, which, till the Reformation, seems to have been the only place of worship for the inhabitants of Forfar. In deeds regarding the temporalities of the church, the parish is still denominated that of *Forfar-Restennet*.

My late worthy and learned friend, Major-General Hutton of the artillery, was so good as to send me a transcript of a charter, in the British Museum, of David Bruce, in which he makes a donation to this Priory, "on account of the favour and affection he bore to it, in consequence of the body of his brother John, whom he designs *Frater Germanus*, lying interred there." This is a circumstance on which none of our historical writers throw any light; not one of them mentioning the existence of a son of *The Bruce* of this name.

The General adds; "David appears to have been at Restennet 2 Jan. Ann. reg. tricesimo; as I have seen an extract of a charter by the king to John de Petyllock so dated." The same prince grants "to the Prior and Canons of Rostynot (*sic*) £54 sterling, in lieu of the tithes of the lands of Menmuir, annually due to the said Prior and Canons." This is dated at Scone, Aug. 3d, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.* We find, from another charter, that David was at this priory in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. For a grant, Consanguineo nostro Roberto de Brus, of the lands of Rate, with its *pertinents*, within the sheriffdom of Perth, is dated at Rostynot on the 17th January of that year.† This Robert appears to have been the first Bruce of Clackmannan, descended from John de Bruce, a younger son of Robert, fifth lord of Annandale, uncle to King Robert I.‡ The Chamberlains' Accounts contain various notices of the royal payments to this Priory. ||

* Reg. Magn. Sig. p. 43, No. 118.

† Ibid. p. 61, No. 192. Robertson's Ind. p. 85, No. 192.

‡ Ibid. p. 38, No. 97. Douglas's Baronage, p. 238.

|| *Vide* vol. i. p. 13, 15.; ii. p. 183, 323, &c. In the *Compota* of Alexander III. the name is written both in the form of *Restennot* and of *Restenet*.

The castle of GLAMES, mentioned above, might seem to have a just claim to a place among our palaces. It must have been a noble specimen of our ancient architecture, before the wings were taken down, with the view of rebuilding them in another form. Pennant, who has given a drawing of it as it formerly stood, says ; "The whole consisted of two long courts, divided by buildings : in each was a square tower, and gateway beneath ; and in the third, another tower, which constitutes the present house, the rest being totally destroyed." * It is commonly related, that the son of James VII., when he visited Scotland, A. 1715, to reclaim the throne which his father had thrown away "for a mass," having lodged here, declared that he had seen no castle on the continent which might be compared with it.

This castle seems to have been the residence of Malcolm II. Here, at least, our chroniclers say he was slain, about the year 1031. Pinkerton contends that he died a natural death. † But not merely Boece, but Fordun, asserts that he was murdered. ‡ According to good old Wyntoun, the reason of the insurrection was, that

—— he had rewyist^a a fayre May^b
Of the land thare lyand by.

CRONYKIL, B. v. c. 10, v. 190.

Whatever was the cause, tradition still pretends to point out a passage in the castle where the bloody act was perpetrated. || Nor is it less positive in affirming that his murderers, as the ground was covered with frost and snow, having unconsciously, in their flight, entered on the Loch of Forfar, all perished in it. That good antiquary, Sir James Dalrymple, evidently viewed this as one of the palaces of our kings. For, speaking of the pretended laws of this same Malcolm, he says ; "Albeit it be said that the king gave all away, yet it

* Tour in Scotland in 1772, Part ii. p. 171.

† Enquiry, ii. 192.

‡ Boeth. Fol. 254, b. Scotichron. Lib. iv. c. 46.

^a Ravished. ^b Virgin.

|| Pennant, *ut sup.*

is not to be thought but that he retained, with his royal dignity, his castles and other places of residence, as at Fort-teviot (*sic*), *Glames*, and Kincairdin." *

This claim of property seems to have been retained during the reign of the Bruces. For we have seen that David II. was at least occasionally at Glames. The very language, in which the gift of these lands to the family of Lyon by Robert II. is expressed, proves this. For he says:—We have “granted, and, by this our charter, confirm, to our beloved and faithful John Lyon, for his faithful service to us,—all and sundry *our* lands of the thanage of *Glamuys*, with their pertinents, in the sherifffdom of Forfare, to be held, by the said John and his heirs, of us and our heirs, in fee and inheritance as a free barony,” &c. † This charter is dated in the second year of his reign.

In another charter of the same date, the name is written *Glaumyss*. For there is considerable variety in the orthography of the word, some still spelling it *Glammis*, which is nearly the same with that of Wynthoun, *Glammys*. The origin is quite uncertain.

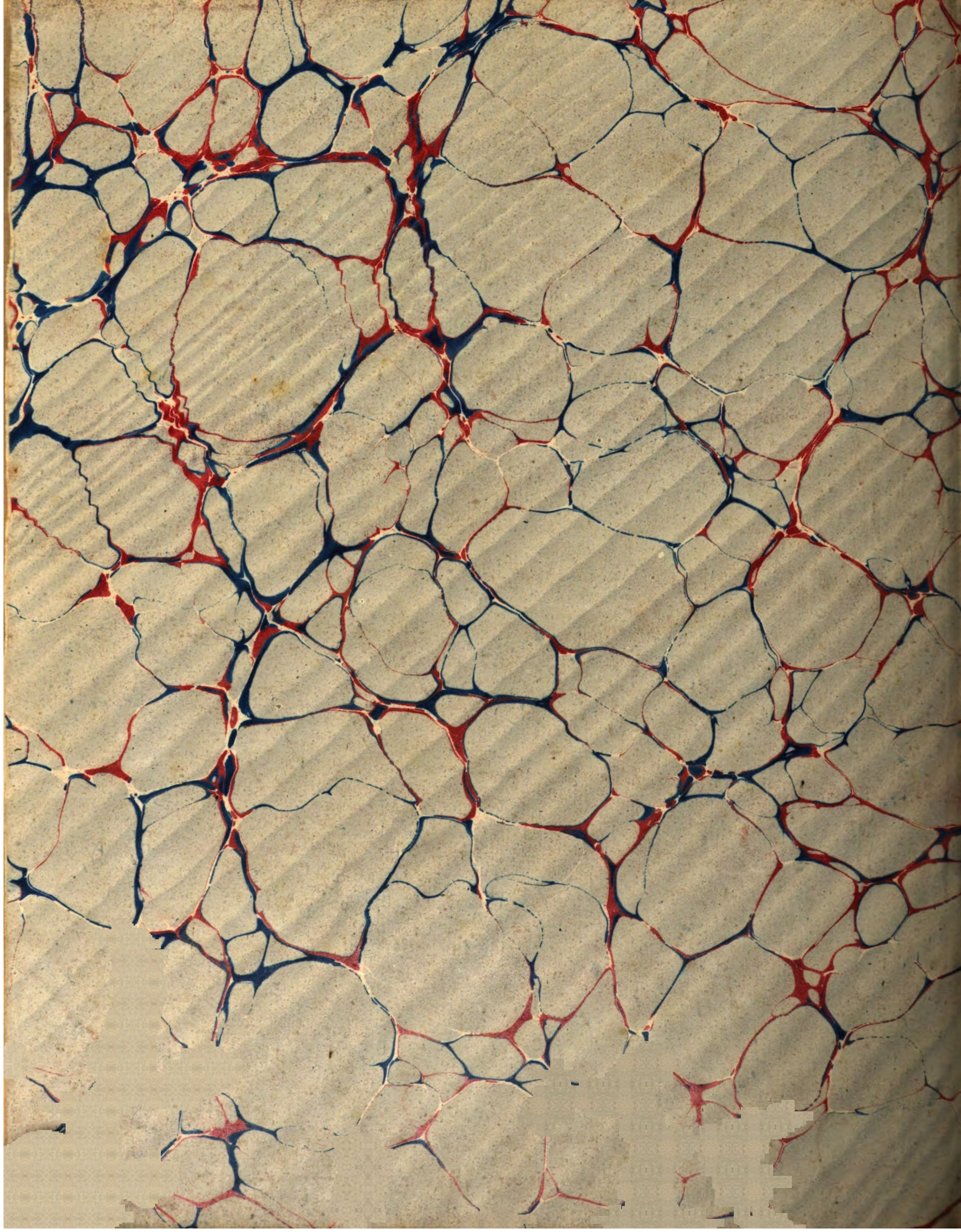
* Collections, p. 139.

† Reg. Magn. Sigill. p. 90, No. 315.

THE END.

is not to be thought that he retained, with his royal dignity, his
 castles and other places of residence, as at that time (1400) the
 and Minster.
 This claim of property seems to have been maintained during the
 reign of the House of York. We have seen that in 1411, when at least
 occasionally at the time of the battle of Tewkesbury, the gift of
 these lands to the family of York by Edward III. had passed, and
 this, I think, is the case. The lands were given by the king, and
 continued to our beloved and illustrious John, Duke of Bedford, who
 was to us, all and sundry, our lord and sovereign, and the
 their position in the spirit of the law, to be held by the said
 John and his heirs, of us and our heirs, by fee and labor, as a
 barony." See 1. This charter is dated in the second year of his reign.
 In another charter of the same date, the name of the Duke of Bedford
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 town, Gloucestre. The origin is quite uncertain.

y. m



Jamieson, John

Select Views of the Royal Palaces of Scotland from drawings by William Brown Glasgow ; with illustrative descriptions of their local situation, present appearance and antiquities

Edinburgh 1830

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